Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-203
Monday
23 October 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-203 *23 October 1989*

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Poland, Hungary Warsaw Pact Membership Viewed *[Avramov in ANTENI No. 42 18 Oct]* 1
Zhivkov Sends Message to Krenz on Election *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Oct]* 1
Further on Turkish Delegate Ecoforum Speech *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 18 Oct]* 1
Further Reportage on YSP Delegation's Talks *[BTA]* 2
Environmental Protection Pact Signed With USSR *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Stoichkov Stresses Protection of Environment *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Oct]* 2
Dzhurov Notes Celebration of Air Force Day *[NARODNA ARMIYA 16 Oct]* 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

15 Human Rights Activists Arrested in Raid *[Hamburg DPA]* 4
Hajek, Others Released *[Hamburg DPA]* 4
Adamec on Hajek, Havel Being Mere Zeros *[Vienna DER STANDARD 23 Oct]* 4
Adamec Plans To Visit Austria 24-25 Oct *[CTK]* 5
Reportage on Adamec's Visits to Iraq, Egypt 5
Dinner Remarks in Baghdad *[CTK]* 5
Text of Communique With Iraq *[Baghdad Radio]* 6
Adamec on Results of Talks *[CTK]* 7
Departure From Egypt *[CTK]* 8
Arrival in Bratislava *[Prague Radio]* 8
CPCZ Presidium Adopts Measures on Environment *[CTK]* 8
Information Policy on Nagymaros Dam Discussed *[RUDE PRAVO 10 Oct]* 8
CPCZ Session Criticizes New Cultural Attitudes *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct]* 9
Knotek, Fojtik Address Media Workers *[Prague Radio]* 10
Janak Addresses CPSL Committee Session *[Bratislava PRAVDA 17 Oct]* 10
Stepan Delivers Report on Prague Problems *[VECERNI PRAHA 12 Oct]* 11

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FBI Authorization for Arrests Abroad Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Oct]* 13
Krenz Sends Condolences to Bush on Earthquake *[ADN]* 13
Krenz, Gorbachev Discuss 'Indestructible' Bond *[ADN]* 13
SPUTNIK Magazine To Return to Circulation *[ADN]* 13
'Provocative Attack' on West Berlin Frontier *[ADN]* 14
FRG TV's Police Brutality Claim Rejected *[ADN]* 14
Modrow, FRG's Mischnick Talk in Dresden *[ADN]* 14
Bonn Politician Says Things 'Set in Motion' *[East Berlin Radio]* 14
Citizens Invited To Return With Impunity *[East Berlin Radio]* 14
Some Request Return *[ADN]* 15
Emigres in Warsaw Assured of Right to Return *[East Berlin Radio]* 15
New Law To Allow Citizens to Travel 'Anywhere' *[East Berlin Radio]* 15
Roadblocks to Travel *[ADN]* 16
Exodus Costs M330 Million Per 10,000 *[ADN]* 16
Economic Discussions Under Way With Vietnam *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Oct]* 16
New Wave of Demonstrations Breaks Out 17
20,000 in Dresden *[ADN]* 17
Plauen Protest *[ADN]* 17
30,000 in Plauen *[Hamburg DPA]* 17
DPA Reports Protestors *[Hamburg]* 17
2,000 in East Berlin *[ADN]* 17
Schabowski Meets Protesters *[ADN]* 17
Police Defend Actions in Berlin Protests *[ADN]* 18

Demonstrators' Criticism of Media 'Justified' *[Venus in BERLINER ZEITUNG 18 Oct]* 18
Dialogue on Current Problems Continues *[ADN]* 19
Dresden Assembly to Discuss Social Issues *[ADN]* 20
Liberal Democrats Affirm Value of Socialism *[ADN]* 20
Paper Says Krenz 'Kicked Open the Door' *[ADN]* 20
More Than 500 Attend Leipzig Dialogue *[ADN]* 21
NDPD Deputies Demand Frank Dialogue *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 16 Oct]* 21
Readers' Letters Cited 22
Newspapers Note Efforts *[ADN]* 23
Independent Trade Union Founded in East Berlin *[Hamburg DPA]* 23
Trade Union Chairman Meets Enterprise Workers *[ADN]* 24
Schabowski Meets Workers, Discusses Problems *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14-15 Oct]* 24
Henrich Says Socialism 'Asiatic Despotism' *[FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 16 Oct]* 25
Dissidents Use Computers to Message FRG *[Vienna Radio]* 25
Improvements for Army Conditions Outlined *[ADN]* 26
Education Official Attacks 'Dogma' in Schools *[ADN]* 26
Free Youth Bureau To Convene 26-27 Oct *[ADN]* 26
Leaders' Public Appearances 12-18 Oct *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12-18 Oct]* 26

HUNGARY

Nemeth Interviewed on Future, USSR, GDR *[Budapest Radio]* 28
HSP Disassociates From USSR's 1956 Intervention *[Budapest Radio]* 28
23 Oct Commemoration Celebrations Planned 28
Nemeth Calls for National Day *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Assembly Rejects Holiday Proposal *[MTI]* 29
Program Detailed *[MTI]* 29
Citizens Invited to Declaration *[MTI]* 29
Nemeth on Nation's 'New Beginning' *[Budapest TV]* 29
Police To Be Unarmed *[Budapest TV]* 31
Nyers, Pozsgay Address Festive Political Rally *[MTI]* 31
Racs Addresses Rally on Anniversary Eve *[MTI]* 31
Opposition Rally Demands USSR Troop Withdrawal *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Further Reportage on National Assembly Session 32
Horvath Assembly Speech *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Pozsgay Addresses Assembly *[Budapest Radio]* 34
Election Proposal Adopted *[MTI]* 34
MTI Details Election Law 35
1956 Sufferers to be Rehabilitated *[MTI]* 35
Personnel Issues Decided, Concludes *[MTI]* 35
Proposed Disbanding of Workers' Militia Reported 35
Workers' Militia Statement *[MTI]* 35
Assembly Disbands Militia *[MTI]* 36
Nemeth Addresses Workers' Guard *[Budapest Radio]* 36
Socialist Party Enrollment Deadline Extended *[MTI]* 37
Social Organizations' Real Estate Reviewed *[MTI]* 37

POLAND

Second Group of GDR Refugees Leaves Warsaw *[Hamburg DPA]* 38
Further Reportage on Mazowiecki, Others in Rome 38
Mazowiecki Interview *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 18 Oct]* 38
19 Oct Luncheon Toast *[PAP]* 39
Meeting With Cossiga, Andreotti *[PAP]* 40
Private Audience With Pope *[PAP]* 41
Further on Talks With Pope *[PAP]* 41
Talks, Press Conference Reported *[PAP]* 42
Further Activities Noted *[PAP]* 43
Return Home From Rome *[PAP]* 44
Visit Assessed *[Warsaw Radio]* 44
Swedish Daily Interviews Mazowiecki *[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 13 Oct]* 44

Spokesman on OKP's International Activity *[PAP]* 46
President's Chancellery Role Explained *[PAP]* 46
Mass Marks Solidarity Priest's Death Anniversary *[PAP]* 47
New PZPR Leader Elected in Rzeszow *[PAP]* 48
Green Party Proposes Ecological Coalition *[PAP]* 48
President Jaruzelski Pardons 286 Prisoners *[PAP]* 48
50 Persons Reinstated in Radio, TV Field *[PAP]* 48
Reestablished Journalists Union Holds Plenum *[PAP]* 49

ROMANIA

Anniversary Messages Exchanged With GDR *[AGERPRES]* 50
SCINTEIA Assesses Relations With GDR *[AGERPRES]* 50
Stoian Receives CSSR Youth Delegation *[AGERPRES]* 51
Leaders' Public Appearances for 7-13 Oct 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Radio Reports Krenz as Honecker's Replacement *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Albania Accused of Financing Terrorists *[TANJUG]* 53
Central Committee Meets Before Party Congress *[TANJUG]* 53
28th League of Communists Plenum Commences *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Top Appointments To Be Decided *[TANJUG]* 54
Radio Reports Plenum Continues *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Slovene Daily Views LCY Congress, Future *[Klasinc in DELO 23 Oct]* 54
Belgrade Proposed as Venue for LCY Congress *[TANJUG]* 55
Federal Chamber Holds Session, Adopts Laws 56
On Securities *[TANJUG]* 56
On Money, Capital Market *[TANJUG]* 56
Socialist Alliance on Assembly Elections *[TANJUG]* 56
Vojvodina Executive Council President Resigns *[TANJUG]* 56
Governor Jelacic Used 'For Political Ends' *[Vranic in BORBA 10 Oct]* 56
Protest Deemed 'Legal' *[POLITIKA 10 Oct]* 57
BORBA'S Poll on Newspaper Popularity *[2 Oct]* 58

Poland, Hungary Warsaw Pact Membership Viewed

AU2210223189 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 42 18 Oct 89 p 11

[Vladimir Avramov commentary: "The Question"]

[Text] Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had to answer a rather strange question at last week's news conference: Would the Soviet Union agree that Poland should be represented by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Lech Walesa at meetings of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee? Gerasimov's answer that, since these people are able to work together in Warsaw, they should be expected to cooperate in other places, was quite natural and logical. In the final account, the question who should be Polish premier has to be resolved in Poland and it is inappropriate to discuss such issues in Moscow.

Considering that the Polish Government is no longer headed by a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], and in view of fact that the (for the time being) ruling party in Hungary has changed its ideological platform and has even altered its name, the question emerges whether the leading organs of the Warsaw Pact would function properly under the new circumstances. Naturally, such a question can only be asked by people who understand the socialist military-political alliance as a means of exerting ideological influence and not as a defense organization for the protection of the national security of its member states. The hitherto existing division of Europe truly justified such ideas, but the changes occurred in the socialist countries' approach to international confrontation show how much this interpretation is biased and artificial. The Warsaw Pact organization was established in response to the FRG's NATO membership, while the repeated proposals on the simultaneous disbanding of the two European military political blocs regularly confirmed the defensive goals of the socialist countries. If certain circles succeeded in persuading Western public opinion that such proposals were mere propaganda tricks, the most recent decisions of the Warsaw Pact on the reduction of the military potentially and on revising the military doctrine made such speculations even less convincing. The fact that NATO has failed to respond to the appeal for a simultaneous disbanding of the two military blocs which was launched in summer 1989 does not speak in favor of the Atlantic Alliance.

Recent changes have gradually occurred in the relations among Warsaw Pact member countries. It was unmistakably declared that the military alliance is not aimed at any interference whatsoever in the domestic affairs of the member countries, but just pursues the goal of guaranteeing the security of the Soviet Union and of the East European countries. Such declarations are made because cases of pressure on domestic political issues, including the use of military force, have occurred in the past. Thus, it became evident that the questions and answers discussed at last week's news conference in Moscow reflect the new elements in international relations and in relations among socialist countries, in particular.

The new political thinking which has become the basis of Soviet foreign policy calls for a de-ideologization of international relations. Such is the path of transition from confrontation to cooperation. We can ascertain today that de-ideologization encompasses relations among socialist countries as well. At least so far, there are no indications that this process should have affected the national security of the countries in question.

Zhivkov Sends Message to Krenz on Election

AU2310101689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has sent the following message to Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]:

Esteemed Comrade Krenz,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on my personal behalf, I cordially greet you on your election as general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

I wish you good health and great successes in your highly responsible work for renewing, further developing, and strengthening the GDR socialist society.

I am convinced that traditional relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the BCP and SED and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR will continue to develop and strengthen for the benefit of our peoples and the cause of socialism and peace.

Further on Turkish Delegate Ecoforum Speech

AU2210172089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[Report by Boyko Pangelov and Petur Punchev: "The Constructive Spirit Prevails" on proceedings at the Sofia'89 European Ecological Meeting on 17 October at the People's Palace of Culture]

[Excerpts] The second day of the meeting on environmental protection, which is taking place in our capital in accordance with agreements reached at the Vienna CSCE meeting, continued today with statements of various delegation leaders. [passage omitted]

The statement of the Alev Kalic provoked great consternation at the press center. The speech was much more suitable for an election meeting of the ruling Turkish Motherland Party than for the European ecological forum. The Turkish delegate seemed to have forgotten the occasion and the problems which delegations from 35 states had gathered in Sofia to discuss. As incredible as it may sound, his preposterous statement did not contain even one word about Turkey's stands on the issues of the meeting. It was full of slander against

Bulgaria and of outdated and already contested claims about the existence of a so-called "Turkish minority" in our country, expressing fictitious concern about their fate. Alev Kalic was the only speaker who spoke about the 35 CSCE member countries' representatives' decision to designate Bulgaria as the host country for the European ecological forum. He described the travels of Bulgarian citizens to Turkey as their "forced expulsion" from Bulgaria. He said that the "all the property" of those who took advantage of their right to visit Turkey "was confiscated" and even their driving licenses were taken away from them. (This makes us wonder, how numerous Bulgarian citizens who traveled to Turkey could drive their own private vehicles under such circumstances!) Alev Kalic seemed to be totally ignorant of the history of Bulgarian-Turkish relations and of the Bulgarian-Turkish agreements that were signed, in particular, by declaring that the solution of bilateral problems should be sought on the basis of the 1925 Bulgarian-Turkish Friendship Treaty. As is known, this document by no means mentions the existence of a Turkish minority in Bulgaria, but on the contrary, deals with the Bulgarian minority in Turkey. In closing his statement, the Turkish delegate went so far as to connect the development of the all-European process to....the development of Bulgarian-Turkish relations, by claiming that this process should depend on Bulgaria's acceptance of Turkey's ultimatum demands. [passage omitted]

Taking advantage of the right of reply, Zakhari Radulov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, pointed out that the Turkish delegate's statement has transgressed all limits of tolerance and hospitality. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on YSP Delegation's Talks

AU1210210189 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Sofia, October 12 (BTA)—Mr 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP), and his party, who paid a friendly visit to this country, left Bulgaria.

During their stay here the officials accompanying the distinguished guest had meetings with their Bulgarian hosts. Mr Muhammad 'Abdullah Muhsin, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the YSP, conferred with Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], and with Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. Mr Muhammad Masdus, Politburo member and and secretary of the CC of the YSP, met with Mr Velko Palin, member of the CC of the BCP and head of the National and Public Security Department of the CC of the BCP. Mr Salih Muhsin, secretary of the CC and chief of cabinet of the secretary general of the CC of the YSP, had talks with Mr Prodan Stoyanov, member of the BCP and of the secretariat department of the CC of the BCP. Mr 'Ali al-Salami, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Peoples' Council and president of its Interparliamentary Group, met with Dr Petur Vutov, president of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group.

The sides briefed each other on pressing international issues and on the two parties' activities. They considered a number of questions concerning interparty cooperation in the spirit of the common understanding reached between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr 'Ali Salim al-Bid.

At Sofia Airport the guests were seen off by Mr Milko Balev and Mr Dimitur Stanishev.

Environmental Protection Pact Signed With USSR

AU1710152389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] An agreement was signed in Sofia today between the Bulgarian and Soviet Governments for cooperation in the field of environmental protection.

The document provides for the joint construction of installations for nature protection, studying the effects of changes in the climate on the environment, providing mutual aid in eliminating the consequences of industrial accidents and natural disasters, which pollute the air, water and soil, drafting measures to ensure the safety of operation of nuclear electric generating plants, and so forth.

The cooperation is to be implemented through the exchange of scientists and specialists, the organization of scientific conferences and symposia, exchange of scientific and technical documentation, and the implementation of joint programs and projects. cooperation and specialization in the production of equipment and materials for environmental production.

In the accordance with the agreement, a joint Bulgarian-Soviet commission will be set up for environmental cooperation.

The document was signed by Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Committee for Environmental Protection, and Nikolay Vorontsov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation. Comrade Georgi Yordanov attended the signing of the agreement.

Stoichkov Stresses Protection of Environment

AU1810120189

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 16 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 2,200-word undated interview with Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the National Organizational Committee of the European ecological meeting in Sofia," by Margit Terziradeva, RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter entitled "The Peoples Expect Joint Actions." It is not specified where the interview took place. Terziradeva asks two questions. The first refers to the expectations from the Sofia

meeting on environmental protection, and the second, to Bulgaria's actions related to environmental protection.

In his answer to the first question, Stoichkov describes the importance of the environmental protection issue and points out that "the pollution of the air, water, and soil does not recognize any state borders." In this context, he asserts that "the most important result expected by the meeting is that it will produce new ideas and proposals related to even more efficient and complex ecological activity, while developing qualitatively new cooperation among states and strengthening the common concern and responsibility."

In his answer to the second question, Stoichkov admits that environmental protection has not always been efficient in Bulgaria, mainly because "industrialization in our country developed at a faster pace than the construction of purifying devices. In addition, some of the purifying stations that were created are not efficient enough and up to the modern technological level." In this context he points out "the serious measures adopted by the Bulgarian Government in this sphere." Stoichkov further cites various decisions of the government and Politburo related to environmental protection, as well as the recent draft law and national program on environmental protection and regeneration.

Listing Bulgaria's successes in environmental protection Stoichkov mentions "the practical implementation of many party and governmental decisions, significantly improving the environment of Ruse, switching over to natural gas in certain enterprises, the city heating system," and so forth. In conclusion he stresses that "Bulgaria will present new ideas and proposals at the ecological meeting."

Dzhurov Notes Celebration of Air Force Day

AU1710125589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Oct 89 p 1

["Order of the Day of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria"]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, sergeants, and warrant officers,
Comrade cadets, officers, and generals,
Comrade pilots, navigators, and aviation specialists,
Comrade workers, and military employees,
Soldiers of the reserve and air force veterans,
Today our people and their soldiers are celebrating Air Force Day.

Having inherited the fighting and revolutionary traditions of the heroes of the Balkan War and World War I and the glorious fighters in the September Uprising [1923], the Bulgarian fliers made their own contribution to the final destruction of Hitler's fascism. During the years of socialist construction, under the unceasing care of the Bulgarian Communist Party and with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, the Armed Forces were transformed into a modern armed service equipped with the latest combat aircraft and auxiliary equipment and provided with highly trained personnel.

This year the Air Force is celebrating its day in an atmosphere of intense political and labor activity on the part of the Bulgarian people and servicemen in order to implement in practice the party's July Concept for the renewal of socialism in Bulgaria.

The personnel of the Air Force unreservedly support the policy of restructuring, are working to radically improve the quality parameters in building up the Bulgarian Army, and are purposefully laboring to master the aviation equipment, improve the standard of flying training and flight safety, strengthen discipline, and further improve the alert performance of combat duties.

As a result of the establishment of the principles of the new political thinking, the political climate in the world has become warmer and brighter, but there is still no guarantee that the positive changes are irreversible.

In this situation, the personnel of the Air Force stand loyally guarding our native land's aerial borders, to ensure that the blue sky over the motherland always remains clear.

Comrade pilots, navigators, and engineers,
Comrade technicians, military employees, and workers,
Comrade Air Force veterans,

I congratulate you most cordially and warmly on the occasion of Air Force Day! I wish you sound health, happiness, and new successes in your highly responsible and valiant profession.

Glory to the Bulgarian Air Force!

Glory to the Bulgarian Communist Party—organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

May our dear socialist homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria long live and prosper!

Army General Dobri Dzhurov,

minister of national defense.

15 Human Rights Activists Arrested in Raid

LD1910181889 Hamburg DPA in German 1718 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Prague/Vienna (DPA)—According to dissident circles, 15 people were arrested in a raid in Prague today. The International Society for Human Rights, IGFM, confirmed in Frankfurt that those arrested had intended to take part in a meeting with representatives of the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. They are said to include Jiri Hajek, former foreign minister during the Prague spring of 1968. The dissident Hajek had already been detained and interrogated for several hours yesterday. According to the IGFM, a number of foreigners had also been detained.

Apart from the Czechoslovak human rights campaigners, members of the Helsinki Federation from Austria, the United States, and the Netherlands were to have taken part at the meeting. A participant reported that writer Vaclav Havel and an Austrian parliamentary deputy had escaped arrest because they had been warned.

Hajek, Others Released

LD2010090489 Hamburg DPA in German 0820 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—The former CSSR foreign minister and civil rights campaigner, Jiri Hajek, and 14 other members of the Czechoslovak committee of the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) were released again in Prague on Thursday evening. According to dissident circles in the Czechoslovak capital on Friday, they had been interrogated for hours beforehand by the police. [passage omitted]

The Austrian Foreign Ministry said on Friday that Hajek is being allowed to come to Graz this weekend for the party congress of the Socialist Party (SPOe). A spokesman said that Hajek already holds a valid passport. At the same time, Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock greeted Hajek's release and that of the other members of the Helsinki committee.

Adamec on Hajek, Havel Being Mere Zeros

AU2310103189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec by Gerhard Plott in Prague: "Hajek and Havel Are Mere Zeros To Me"—date not given]

[Text] Adamec: My visit to Austria is taking place at a time when the relations between Austria and the CSSR are developing positively. We recently concluded 16 agreements. The most important area for us is economic cooperation. However, expanding cooperation will require reforms. We have an interest in joint investment and in modernizing our production base. We must adopt new positions on environmental protection, because we started our reforms later than would have been necessary.

However, I must also state very frankly that the CSSR and Austria do not always speak the same language; that holds true in particular for human rights. We would welcome it if the Austrian mass media reported more objectively on the CSSR. Socialism is not incompatible with the implementation of human rights, as has often been claimed. However, we do have problems in this respect.

In our National Front, which consists of five political parties and 30 social organizations, we can discuss all problems of our society. We can also include the opposition in this front, provided, however, that everything is done on the basis of socialism. We are not concerned about criticism that leads to the improvement of the socialist order. However, if such criticism were aimed at eliminating socialism, we would not accept it.

DER STANDARD: Why were obstacles put in the way of former foreign minister Hajek when he planned to go to Graz to attend the Congress of the Socialist Party of Austria [SPOe]? What can the CSSR do to improve bilateral relations with Austria?

Adamec: If you are asking such questions before my visit to Austria, I doubt that constructive results can be achieved, even though I have a good relationship with Austria. Listening to your mass media, I have the impression that I am under the Austrian Government's tutelage. We are a sovereign country. The claim to be able to dictate to us is not correct.

I saw on television how the Austrian police took action against the demonstrators who protested against the opera ball—I was shocked, but we did not interfere. On the other hand, your mass media almost called for demonstrations on 21 August (the anniversary of the Soviet invasion). Why does Austria have to interfere in our internal affairs? When I became head of government, some representatives of your government—in particular, Finance Minister Lacina—said that democratization of the CSSR had ended now. I was accused of advocating Stalinism. Lacina even canceled a visit to the CSSR. It is impossible to act that way.

DER STANDARD: But you personally have a very good press in Austria.

Adamec: Do not be angry with me, but you asked me about our relations.

As far as Jiri Hajek is concerned, he can leave the country. But why are you interested in this person? To me people like Hajek and Havel are mere zeros. They attack our party. Why should we accept that? Do you know any party in the world that would give up power voluntarily?

DER STANDARD: Gorbachev has made Sakharov a Supreme Soviet member. Why do you not proceed with your opposition in a similar way?

Adamec: Sakharov does not interest me. However, Havel and other people are doing things that are aimed

against the state. They do not observe the CSSR's laws. I must draw conclusions from that; I protect the law.

I was in Poland recently. When I arrived, everything was paralyzed because of a general strike. I could not even get a beer. I will not permit such a state of affairs in the CSSR. That cannot be an example for us. Our Communist Party has achieved very great successes in the past 40 years. We will not permit the destabilization of our country—under no circumstances. This party is still strong enough to prevent that.

If cooperation with Austria depends on people like Havel and Hajek, we will certainly not accept that. If we visited a factory now, you would be confronted with entirely different problems of the workers.

DER STANDARD: Thank you very much for these frank words.

Adamec: I hope you will write in your newspaper that Adamec's visit is very good for democracy in the CSSR. I respect all foreign countries, but I also demand that you do.

DER STANDARD: Do you want to become Communist Party chairman?

Adamec (laughs): I have been a party member for 40 years and was lucky to rise from a common worker to a Central Committee member. That is the most I can achieve. I fully support Party chief Jakes.

DER STANDARD: Are you worried—as party chief Jakes is—about developments in the USSR?

Adamec: I am among those who support perestroyka. There is no other way. But of course I am worried. If there is success in the USSR, perestroyka will also be successful in the CSSR.

DER STANDARD: In your new economic program, many components are similar to the 1968 programs. How do you assess the events at that time? Are you going to rehabilitate persons of the Prague Spring?

Adamec: It is a pity that you are not interested in today's programs. Today we have different conditions. The 1968 program of action contained some positive aspects. However, these projects could not be implemented under the conditions in 1968. History itself must objectively answer this question. You belong to a generation that cannot know anything about those events. At that time, your mother was walking you in a baby carriage. In our country, too, a generation is growing up which knows nothing about 1968. We are interested in what the future will bring us.

DER STANDARD: How do you assess the situation in the GDR? Will the CSSR be the next one?

Adamec: There have been great changes in the GDR recently. I do not interfere in the GDR's internal affairs. However, I think that the GDR should have carried out the reforms earlier. Long-term stability that is based on absolute obedience is no good. But now you have asked me enough questions.

DER STANDARD: Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for this talk.

Adamec Plans To Visit Austria 24-25 Oct

LD2210161989 Prague CTK in English 1410 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec will pay an official visit to Austria October 24-25 at the invitation of Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, it was announced here today.

Reportage on Adamec's Visits to Iraq, Egypt

Dinner Remarks in Baghdad

LD1510220889 Prague CTK in English 2017 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Baghdad Oct 15 (CTK correspondent)—Iraqi First Deputy Premier Taha Yasin Ramadan confirmed Iraq's interest in the development of relations with Czechoslovakia at a dinner given here tonight in honour of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec and his entourage.

The visit helped exchange views on a broad range of questions and seek mutually advantageous solutions. The two countries hold identical stands on a number of international issues, believe in peace, strive for it, and try to remove factors of tension which pose a danger to peace the world over, the Iraqi representative emphasized.

Speaking about the Iraq-Iran war, he called for strengthening the peace process also by direct talks and for clearing the Shatt al- Arab water way which is of extraordinary importance for Iraq. He also mentioned the proposal of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn for the exchange of all war prisoners between the two states.

Iraq highly appreciates support granted by Czechoslovakia to the Palestinian people and their uprising for the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state. There is time for convening an international peace conference on this question under the aegis of the United Nations which would be attended by all sides involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, he stressed.

Taha Yasin Ramadan called for urgent solution to the Lebanese crisis through a political dialogue and emphasized that Iraq highly praises Czechoslovakia's efforts to install the atmosphere of cooperation and confidence in Europe and other parts of the world.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec pointed out in his speech that Czechoslovakia watches with great

interest the efforts of the Iraqi people for the construction of new, developed society and successes achieved during the period of reconstruction.

The basic prerequisite for achieving these targets is the reaching of just peace in the region. This would remove one of dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world and improve the overall situation in the Middle East. Huge material resources could be used for the benefit of social progress instead for military purposes. Czechoslovakia wants to participate in this process, Ladislav Adamec stressed.

He pointed to a long tradition of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Iraq. The two countries are linked with the joint struggle for freedom, independence and progress in the world. They develop relations between political parties, government members, parliaments as well as social and youth organizations. Both countries are interested in intensification of their cooperation in the economic political and cultural spheres.

Czechoslovakia attaches great significance to economic and trade cooperation. Hopefully a whole number of open questions will be solved during the forthcoming session of the permanent comittee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation. The current talks confirmed bilateral effort to seek new forms of cooperation in these spheres.

At present, new political thinking is being asserted in international relations. The efforts for the preservation of the civilization and for the creation of lasting peace and security must be, however, linked with seeking the balance of interests, the respect for the right of nations to free choice of development and with the recognition of international law.

Ladislav Adamec pointed to closeness or identity of the two countries' stands on international issues. Their joint task is to continue to help the process of disarmament, to strive for a just solution to regional conflicts, convene an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations, settle the Arab-Israeli conflict, solve the Palestinian question and end the war in Lebanon.

The Helsinki process in Europe, based on equal security for all in the political, economic, ecological and military spheres, can serve as an example of solving problems by peaceful means. Czechoslovakia's initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states and its proposal for cooperation with the neighbouring states in solving ecological problems prove its participaton in these efforts, the Czechoslovak premier emphasized.

In conclusion he voiced the conviction that the results of the current talks will help further develop the two countries' cooperation and will become an important milestone in the development of friendship between them and their nations.

Text of Communique With Iraq

JN1710205689 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 17 Oct 89

["Text" of joint communique on official visit of CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec to Iraq; date not given]

[Text] In response to the invitation by Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan, CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec paid an official and friendly visit to Iraq 14-17 October 1989.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn received Mr Ladislav Adamec, who conveyed to his excellency the greetings of Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CSSR Communist Party, and those of CSSR President Gustav Husak. Adamec also conveyed their best wishes for President Saddam Husayn's personal happiness and that the friendly Iraqi people may develop and prosper.

President Saddam Husayn asked that his greetings be conveyed to Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CSSR Communist Party, and to President Gustav Husak. He also conveyed to them his good wishes for health and happiness and for the friendly CSSR people's development and prosperity.

Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and Iraqi first deputy prime minister, and CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec held official talks in an atmosphere of mutual friendship and honesty. Each side informed the other of the events in its country and the tasks that fall within their responsibility in the current stage.

Reviewing bilateral relations, the two sides pointed out with satisfaction that relations between Iraq and the CSSR are developing successfully. The two sides reaffirmed the importance of the CSSR-Iraqi political dialogue. They indicated their mutual desire to continue developing bilateral cooperation in various fields in the interests of the two friendly nations and for peace and security in the world.

The two sides assessed positively the existing level of economic cooperation between the two countries. They stated their readiness to expand this cooperation in the future and to concentrate on finding new and effective methods to develop it.

In evaluating the scientific and technical cooperation and the educational relations between them, they described them as good and successful. They signed an agreement of mutual recognition of educational degrees, documents dealing with levels [of education], and scientific titles conferred in both countries.

In their evaluation of the international situation, Taha Yasin Ramadan and Ladislav Adamec pointed out that international relations are now experiencing a positive atmosphere in which the danger of nuclear war has receded and that a new willingness has arisen to settle regional disputes politically.

They affirmed that the center of gravity of international life has moved from confrontation to dialogue, mutual understanding, and cooperation. The two sides also expressed their support for establishing the policy of detente; guaranteeing peace in the world; stopping the arms race, halting nuclear weapons tests, and preventing their spread into space; eliminating weapons of mass destruction; and lowering the levels of conventional weapons. The two sides confirmed that the continued improvement in international relations can only be maintained on the basis of commitment to the principles set forth in the UN Charter and by international norms; and by respect for the sovereignty and territories of all countries, noninterference in their internal affairs, and by solving disputes by peaceful means.

The two sides affirmed the need to establish a comprehensive, just, honorable, and permanent peace between Iraq and Iran based on Security Council Resolution 598. Iraq informed the CSSR of the latest developments in direct negotiations between Iraq and Iran after the cease-fire and Iraq's efforts to implement all the articles of Resolution 598 according to the sequence of its paragraphs.

The Iraqi side stressed the principle of free navigation in territorial waters, the Arabian Gulf, and through the Strait of Hormuz for all ships without hindrance. It also stressed the need to clear the Shatt al-'Arab waterway and make it safe and suitable for navigation without encroachment upon the waterway's legal status as Iraq's only outlet to the high seas. The Iraqi side explained the legal and humanitarian dimensions of President Saddam Husayn's initiative on Iraq's readiness for an immediate and comprehensive exchange of POW's between the two countries.

The CSSR side paid tribute to Iraq's positive stances on international initiatives and its efforts to resolve the conflict with Iran peacefully.

The Iraqi side informed the CSSR side of the goals of the Arab Cooperation Council, which enhances economic cooperation among its member states with a view to achieving economic integration, and which welcomes any Arab country wishing to join it.

The CSSR side welcomed any step that boosted Arab cooperation.

In the context of their revision of the Middle East situation, the two sides expressed their solidarity with the Palestinian people, under the PLO, against the continuing Israeli occupation. They stressed that a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict can only be achieved on the basis of implementing the UN resolutions. Such a settlement must include a full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the Palestinian peoples' inalienable right to self-determination through the convening of a UN-sponsored international conference to be attended by all parties, including the PLO and the Security Council permanent member states.

They also expressed their appreciation of and support for the intifadah of the Palestinian Arab people and condemned the acts of oppression perpetrated by the Israeli ocupation forces. The two sides praised the resolutions of the 19th extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers and the proclamation of the state of Palestine.

The two sides expressed their belief that the situation in Lebanon cannot be settled except through peaceful means and on the basis of national reconciliation and political dialogue among the parties to the conflict. The unity and sovereignty of Lebanon and the safety of its territories must also be maintained. They expressed their support for the efforts of the Arab tripartite committee to implement the Casablanca summit resolution on the Lebanese crisis. They also condemed the acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel in southern Lebanon—acts that further complicate things in this country.

The CSSR side informed the Iraqi side of the current situation in Europe, which was positively affected by the successful implementation of the final document of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and also by the outcome of the Vienna disarmament talks. This proves that adequate circumstances are emerging in Europe for peaceful development and for building the common European house on the basis of equal security and promotion of cooperation in all fields among all nations. The CSSR is contributing to these efforts through its initiative to form a bridge of trust, cooperation, and neighborliness between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, and also through its initiative to solve environmental problems in central Europe. The CSSR is also exerting efforts to crush all negative trends that appear in Europe as a result of the cold war and the policy of power and revenge.

The Iraqi side pays tribute to the efforts exerted by the CSSR to achieve stability and peace in Europe. The two sides expressed the belief that the official and cordial visit paid to the Republic of Iraq by CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec will help promote the relations of fruitful friendship and cooperation between the two countries in the future. Mr Ladislav Adamec expressed his deep gratitude for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded him and his delegation in Iraq. He also extended an invitation to Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister in the Repulic of Iraq, to pay an official visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction, and its date will be fixed later through diplomatic channels.

Adamec on Results of Talks

LD1910210689 Prague CTK in English 1841 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Cairo Oct 19 (CTK correspondent)—The results of the talks in Iraq and Egypt correspond to the existing situation, with Czechoslovakia bearing in mind that it must seek markets for its engineering equipment and

other products and see to it that it has sufficient supplies of raw materials, Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec has said.

In an interview at the close of his visit to Iraq and Egypt, the Czechoslovak premier told newsmen that Czechoslovakia has been exporting to Iraq technology and complete plants at long-term credits but Iraq, unfortunately, has not been keeping payment terms thus causing problems to Czechoslovakia. No agreements that would fully satisfy Czechoslovakia had been reached during the present talks, Ladislav Adamec said.

He went on to say that Iraq is a country producing great quantities of oil which is needed by Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia would like to cooperate with Iraq also in building a number of new plants. Iraq does not want to export crude oil but oil products, which is a very reasonable approach, the premier said but pointed out the validity of the principle that debts must be paid. "Czechoslovakia cannot afford to invest money into a foreign country and not be sure when this money would be returned. Such a policy cannot be continued," he stressed.

"In the past we made certain mistakes in relying too much on payments terms. Now and in the future we must consistently see to it that we get our deliveries abroad paid in time and to the full extent," the premier said.

The premier confirmed Czechoslovakia's continued interest in the development of Iraq's economy but said it would conclude only such agreements that will be advantageous for Czechoslovakia. After the visit to Iraq by Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba and Finance Minister Jan Stejskal in December, a decision will be made on further development of cooperation, Adamec added.

Referring to his talks in Egypt, the Czechoslovak premier said they had been conducted in an open working atmosphere. The Egyptian side has shown clear interest in continuing cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

Ladislav Adamec said he was satisfied with the results of the talks in Egypt, adding that both countries have enough goods to offer each other. Czechoslovakia has been importing Egyptian cotton and will buy also some kinds of consumer goods.

The talks in Iraq and Egypt also touched on some foreign policy issues. The opinions of the parties to the talks on these issues were identical or close. In view of the fact that the Czechoslovak delegation visted two Arab countries, considerable attention was paid to the Palestinian issue and to ways of eliminating tension in the Middle East. Czechoslovakia once again voiced support to efforts at a peaceful settlement of these problems provided that the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are respected. In this context it also pointed out the indivisibility of peace and the link between security all over the world and in its individual parts. There was accord also on this question during the talks, Premier Adamec said.

Departure From Egypt

LD1910211889 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Cairo Oct 19 (CTK correspondents)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec ended today his three-day official visit to Egypt by visiting two industrial centres near Cairo and the last round of talks with his Egyptian counterpart 'Atif Sidqi.

The talks in Egypt were concentrated above all on the deepening of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Before departure the two countries' premiers expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit and confirmed their interest in the further development and deepening of relations.

Ladislav Adamec left here for home today.

Arrival in Bratislava

LD1910212389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, the federal premier, today returned from a 6-day official visit to Iraq and Egypt. He was welcomed at Bratislava Airport, where the special aircraft landed due to fog in Prague, by Stefan Murin, the Slovak first deputy premier.

CPCZ Presidium Adopts Measures on Environment

LD2010164189 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 20 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party adopted a number of measures on the creation and protection of the living environment at a session here today.

The Presidium discussed the ensuring of the 15th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee resolution on the environment and dealt with draft principles of a party program and further elaboration of a new constitution of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Information Policy on Nagymaros Dam Discussed

AU1810143589

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "There Will Be No Improvement Without Cooperation," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 October on page 3 carries the 5,000-word transcript of a roundtable discussion between Czechoslovak and foreign journalists on environmental problems in central Europe. The date and place of the discussion, which was organized by the RUDE PRAVO editorial office, are not given. The panelists are, in addition to three RUDE PRAVO staff journalists, Tibor Kis from Hungary, Hannes Burger from the FRG, Marian Kuszewski from Poland, Ulrich Perzinger from Austria, and Stanislav Vtorushin from

the Soviet Union. The panelists discuss ecological problems in their own countries and the need for cross-border cooperation in tackling environmental pollution. They also stress the responsibility of journalists to heighten the public's awareness of the urgency of environmental problems. In this connection Tibor Kis criticizes Czechoslovak media reporting on the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian Danube dam project. He says: "I follow closely how Czechoslovak media write about the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. I am not claiming that the Hungarian public is 100 percent familiar with Czechoslovakia's exact stand. This is why it is the task of Hungarian journalists to improve information on the motives and positions of the Czechoslovak side. However, I would expect Czechoslovak journalists to do the same. My feeling is that it is not completely clear to the Czechoslovak public why the Hungarian public is expressing such strong disapproval of this project."

The Polish participant in the discussion, Marian Kuszewski, criticizes his countrymen for "frequently protesting against threats to the environment coming from elsewhere, and paying less heed to our own sources of pollution." In this connection he mentions the protests against the construction of a coking plant in Stonava in North Moravia, near the Polish border.

CPCZ Session Criticizes New Cultural Attitudes

AU1810232789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 4

[Speech delivered by Otto Liska, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of CPCZ East Bohemia Regional Committee, at 15th CPCZ Central Committee session held in Prague on 11 October]

[Excerpts] In the introduction to his speech, Otto Liska emphasized the role of culture and art in restructuring the life of our society. [passage omitted]

[Liska] It is also unnecessary to conceal the fact that while revolutionary changes are taking place in society, this very sphere has always become the object of concentrated attention from our class enemies. Some negative phenomena, which have recently cropped up here, do not testify to further democratization in this sphere but to a general liberalization, a deviation from the class approach, from the Leninist adherence to party principles, and to a denial of our party's leading role in this sphere.

In the East Bohemia region we are establishing sufficient scope and conditions for artists' creative freedom, but these cannot be at variance with the interests of other sectors of the population and with socialism. The overwhelming majority of artistic and cultural workers support our position, and the regional committee secretariats and the district committees' presidia are in very good and regular contact with them. We are endeavoring to increase the role of the ideological and artistic associations' branches. We are leading Communists toward this systematically. But dissatisfaction at the abuse of various cultural events—for example, folk and rock concerts as well as theatrical productions by ensembles and groups, mainly from Prague—is being expressed more and more often by them.

If previously this involved the professional sphere of art and culture in particular, now more and more negative tendencies are being transferred to the sphere of amateur artistic creativity as this year's nationwide festival at Jiraskuv Hronov and other cultural activities in our region have proven. High artistic and ideological demands are being lowered in artistic creativity and too many average and below average works, opinions, and stances alien to our socialist principles and ideals are being manifested. All of this is accompanied by the most varied invectives against the party, the socialist state, the working class, and against dialectic and historical materialism. This is catering to vulgar tastes and an attempt to win popularity quickly and cheaply.

We do not want to reconcile ourselves to this situation and we will not reconcile ourselves to it. Proceeding carefully, in our opinion, does not mean proceeding in an unprincipled manner. The regional party, state, and social organs are responsible for what is happening in the artistic and cultural sphere in the region and not just Pragoconcert, the Ministry of Culture, the Institute For Cultural Educational Activity, or other central institutions.

We will not prevent anyone from being creative but are we to use money from the socialist state and the working people to disseminate the creative activity of those who, through their civic points of view, have challenged the existence of socialism and support the stance of the illegal groups?

We are not in favor of unqualified administrative interventions. Not only Communists but the other working people are also asking—on just whose side are some of these "masters of culture?"

It is impossible to confuse the expansion of democratization in culture and art with the weakening of the role of our party and the state. In this regard, some tendencies in the proposals, for example, for promotion activities disturb us. These activities carry the risk of strengthening exclusive group interests and the possibility of restricting the activity of those artists who openly support our party's policy. Through its proposed simplified approach to the licensing procedure, or rather its substitution with a mere obligation to give advanced notice, the Ministry of Culture is also removing one of the decisive instruments of management from the national committees who are responsible for implementing the state's cultural policy in the territory entrusted to them.

The proposal to set up a central commission is in itself an administrative approach which absolutely neglects the active role of the regional cultural institutions and the ideological and artistic associations' branches, and in its consequences is directed against democratization in culture and art. A similar view that further qualified guidance and diplomas are not necessary for graduate artists from the specialized colleges is also openly directed against the

requirement for life-long education and an increase in qualifications, involvement, and so on.

It is well known to all of us where the so-called modern concept of socialism is aimed. Apart from the privatization of property and the renewal of the political parties that do not acknowledge socialism, this involves the so-called granting of equal rights to ideologies, or to put it better, the disorientation of society.

In another part of his speech Comrade Liska stressed that we do not need tension between the Church and state and that new approaches are also necessary here but that it is expedient to confront the attempt by illegal groups to merge with legal church structures and thus gain the opportunity to significantly influence the believers against socialism. In this sphere, it is necessary to bear in mind the differences between the regions in religiousness and the position, activity, and influence of the church. [passage omitted]

Knotek, Fojtik Address Media Workers

LD1810205189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] A state-wide meeting of chief members of staff of the media was held in Prague to discuss the conclusions of the 15th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, described at the meeting the course of restructuring and democratization of our society and assumed a stance on the application of the principles of the new economic mechanism. He pointed to the insufficient activity of enterprises, to the problems with supply-consumers relations, in the quality and efficiency of production. The important thing is, he said, to thoroughly implement the law on state enterprise and other norms of the new economic mechanism, to mobilize the working people toward fulfillment of the tasks for this year, and the creation of good conditions for the year 1990 and the entire ninth 5-year plan.

When Ivan Knotek spoke about the course of the party's annual membership meetings he said that they should become a platform for dealing with the tasks of speeding up restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization.

Deputy Federal Premier Jaromir Zak, chairman of the State Planning Commission, spoke about the development of our national economy throughout this year and the preparation of the state plan for next year. He said that with regard to efficiency no substantial changes have taken place this year. No greater change was achieved in the quality and intensification or in the reduction of production costs and in particular material cost. Thirty percent of enterprises failed to fulfill the plan and this amounts to a deficit of 5 billion ksc.

At the end of the meeting Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, took the floor. He underlined the importance of great responsibility and competence of media staff in pushing through the demands for an open flow of information. The important thing is, he said, to unite people for creative work in implementing the program adopted by the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. On this basis the coming party congress will set new tasks in restructuring and democratization of our society. In the precongress period the media could contribute with their activity to constructive dialogue which the party wants to have with everybody who want to contribute to the advancement of socialism, Jan Fojtik said.

Janak Addresses CPSL Committee Session

AU1810115689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Oct 89 p 3

[Speech by Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of CPSL Central Committee, at the session of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee in Bratislava on 16 October]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Here and also in other socialist countries we are undergoing a period of critical assessment of successes, failures, and mistakes connected with our socialist development. With the participation of Communists and the general public and by means of a policy of openness we are honestly seeking ways to strengthen and perfect socialism in order to make it even more attractive to man.

Anticommunist forces have begun misusing against us the problems and shortcomings that accumulated in the past period as a result of both objective and subjective causes and about which we are openly speaking. They are attacking us unfastidiously day after day, casting in doubt the results socialism has achieved! They are idealizing the world of capital and Western values. They would like to turn the restructuring processes into the liquidation of socialism and the party's leading role.

Various antisocialist opposition groups in our country—with the active support of these forces, of Western ideodiversionary centers, and various organizations abroad—have been developing activity oriented toward gaining exponents and asserting their baneful plans also in Slovakia. They want to create an opposition force, re-evaluate history according to their view of it, and turn the process of restructuring against socialism. They have succeeded in gaining exponents, particularly from among the intelligentsia and the youth, also in the Slovak Socialist Republic. There have even been attempts to cast the CPCZ's nationality policy in doubt, as well as to destabilize artists' unions and eliminate the party's and state's influence on them.

Although these are isolated phenomena, we must not ignore them or take them lightly, especially when some of their catalysts [nositelia] are party members. Every one of them must realize whose interests and objectives

his behavior serves. The party has one discipline, one kind of rights, and one kind of duties for all its members. They must be adhered to. The CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Central Committee and other party bodies must work much more actively with Communists in the sphere of science and culture, and at the institutes of higher learning. They must conduct dialogue also with persons who have objections, who are more critical about some phenomena and do not agree with everything, but identify themselves with socialism, with our socialist restructuring! The ongoing annual membership meetings, too, must be made use of for that.

It also is necessary to more resolutely oppose various so-called initiatives, the authors of which want to sow seeds of strife and provoke tension in ethnic relations.

We regard as an insult the attempts by reactionary emigrees, concentrating on fanning nationalism, which are expressed in the document For Liberated Slovakia, which is being smuggled to the republic with the intention of reviving clerical fascism and Ludakism [reference to separatist Slovak People's Party disbanded in 1945] and disturbing the togetherness and coexistence of our nations and nationalities. We regard it as our foremost duty to safeguard and develop further everything we have achieved through our nations' and nationalities' common effort in the course of the construction of socialism.

At the festive session held on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica we also expressed our unequivocal stance on the issue of strengthening the Czechoslovak statehood and developing the federation. We will continue to implement the Leninist principles of the nationality policy and intensify the patriotic and international feelings of our citizens.

The consciousness of Communists and the public in Slovakia is influenced also by the developments in the neighboring socialist countries—above all in the Hungarian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic. Concern is being expressed about the fate of socialism in those countries.

Our position on the developments in those befriended countries has been expressed several times already. It was expressed once more at the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session. We are sincerely interested in further developing and intensifying comprehensive cooperation on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

We fully agree with the stance of the CPCZ Central Committee that socialist society cannot be developed without restructuring. But we will not vacate our positions to antisocialist forces so that the party loses influence on the development of events. We will not allow anything to be foisted on us that is at variance with the interests of the Czechoslovak people, our party, and the National Front.

We continue to regard it as important to maintain and strengthen the relations of friendship between the CPSL regional and district committees, social organizations affiliated in the National Front, enterprises, schools, and other institutions with partners in the socialist countries. It is important to develop them more intensively in the interest of the exchange of experience and the support of socialism, about the viability and historical prospects of which we are profoundly convinced. [passage omitted]

Stepan Delivers Report on Prague Problems

AU1810135689

[Editorial report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 12 October on page 4, under the headline "With One's Visor Raised," carries the 4,000-word "substantial part" of the "Report of the Presidium of the Prague Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] City Committee on the Fulfillment of the Conclusions of the City Party Conference and the Tasks of the CPCZ City Organization in the Run-Up to the 18th Party Congress," which was delivered by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, at the ninth session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee on 9 October. In the report, Stepan discusses the progress made in Prague since the city party conference of May 1988 in tackling various communal problems.

Speaking about the Prague economy, Stepan says that, "despite certain improvements, the results achieved still do not match the needs and potentials of Prague." In particular, Stepan criticizes the fact that the planned structural changes in the Prague economy, and its modernization, have not been implemented, which "has a negative impact on the political situation in some state enterprises." According to Stepan, the main reason is that "the promised resources have not yet been released and, despite the CPCZ Central Committee's support [for the modernization of the Prague economy], the Government has not yet redistributed resources in favor of the Prague industry." Speaking about economic issues, Stepan also mentions that the organizational restructuring of the Prague economy has been completed by 1 July 1989 and that 264 state enterprises operate on the territory of Prague at present. He notes that not all candidates for the post of director of state enterprises have passed, which he attributes to the founders' and employees' "lack of preparedness for the new conditions."

Stepan then moves to the discussion of "problems which embitter people's lives and call forth justified criticism." In this context he criticizes the fact that the fulfillment of tasks which "influence the political climate in the city," such as the construction of apartments or health care establishments, has been "insufficient." He says that only 15,491 of the 49,164 apartments to be completed in Prague in the 1986-90 period were handed over in the first 2 years of this period and that 2,020 apartments from the 1988 plan were only handed over to their users at the end of June 1989. Discussing the shortage of apartments, Stepan also objects to the fact that 36

percent of all new apartments in Prague are allocated to "central agencies," rather than to the city itself, "which is inconsistent with the task to reduce staff numbers in central agencies." Premier Adamec has reportedly promised Stepan to "put this right" as soon as possible. Stepan also reports on the results of an inquiry into the use of apartments in Prague, which revealed that 5,800 of them are unoccupied, and on problems in collecting rents. There are reportedly more than 17,000 "nonpayers of rent" in Prague, who owe the city over Kcs14.5 million.

Speaking about the supply situation, Stepan says that "notwithstanding some improvements, particularly in food supplies, one cannot fail to see the problems in the Prague retailing network and in supplies. Despite a number of talks with central agencies on this issue, the preferential status of Prague with respect to supplies of merchandise is not being ensured."

Turning to the issue of the Prague environment, Stepan reports that—since the city party conference—a decision has been made to gradually abandon the use of coal in Prague and switch to gas and to build an effluent treatment plant. The construction of an incinerating plant for communal refuse has already started. In spite of these "positive examples," the city party committee "is not satisfied with the improvement of the environment in Prague."

Reporting on the results achieved in "combating negative phenomena" in the capital, Stepan says that "in the more complicated conditions caused, above all, by the escalation of open actions by antisocialist forces, the organs of the Nationality Security Corps, the courts, and the prosecuting agencies fulfilled their tasks last year." A total of 930 persons suspected of illegal currency dealing and blackmarketeering have reportedly been detained and Kcs1.6 million in foreign exchange, Kcs2.5 million in the domestic currency, and Kcs75,000 in Tuzex vouchers have been confiscated. Although speculation in public places has been "significantly suppressed," Stepan says, the problem has not been eliminated because a solution requires "more than repressive actions alone."

In the concluding part of his speech, Stepan discusses the need to activate the National Front in Prague as the platform for "the democratization of politics, the development of pluralism of views, and the conduct of an open dialogue about all problems of life in Prague." He deplores the fact that, because of "cumbersome organizational forms" and the continuation of "command methods of work," the National Front does not yet live up to its mission. Stepan also criticizes the fact that "not all functionaries, communists working in responsible political and economic functions, have assimilated the method of offensive action, broad openness, public access to information, and sincere dialogue with everyone who wants to contribute to the common cause." The Prague party leader also emphasizes the need for the party to engage in a dialogue with young people, to do so "without prejudices and with trust," and to "provide scope for their self-realization."

FBI Authorization for Arrests Abroad Criticized

AU2110203989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Authorization for the FBI"]

[Text] This is unprecedented in the history of international relations in peace times: A state claims the right to use its police in other states without asking for permission of the respective governments. According to THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, it is the view of Justice Secretary Thornburgh that the U.S. federal police FBI can arrest wanted persons abroad without the agreement of the country in question and take them back to the United States—without consideration of international law, as was stated explicitly.

Of course, this is a declaration of war on international law. With this authorization, the U.S. justice secretary makes the attempt of degrading all other states in the world to Washington's vassals. This threat to interfere into others' internal affairs at one's convenience can only be considered as a step by the United States to not only play the policeman of the world but to practically establish itself as a world government.

The statement of the U.S. justice secretary has been placed in proximity with the struggle against the drug Mafia. But if it were really only a question of the prosecution of drug bosses, one need not circumvent the governments of the countries in question. In this case, one could cooperate in the usual way with the police of the country where the wanted person is or operate via Interpol. The term "wanted person," however, is understood in a much broader sense in Washington, obviously far beyond the field of crime. Yes, it even refers to members of other governments, who are unpopular with Washington and who should therefore be kidnapped. In this connection, the name of the chief of the Panama defense forces, General Noriega, is openly discussed, whom CIA Director Webster has recently openly threatened with murder.

The worldwide outrage has made State Secretary Baker try to pour oil on the troubled waters. However, it is to be strongly doubted whether the statement that this only refers to "individual cases" is suited to do so. The President himself made it very easy for himself: He cannot say anything, because he has not read the article in THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, he said.

The only relatively reassuring statement is the one made by the FBI itself, noting that so far the FBI has not arrested anyone in accordance with the new regulation. This, however, probably is due to the fact that in such a case FBI agents would have to expect to be indicted and sentenced for kidnapping, as lawyers warned.

Krenz Sends Condolences to Bush on Earthquake

LD2010210889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1539 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, has conveyed his heartfelt sympathy on the serious earthquake catastrophe in California to George Bush, the President of the United States of America, and the relatives of the victims.

Krenz, Gorbachev Discuss 'Indestructible' Bond

LD2110104189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0947 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, held a telephone conversation, at the start of which the Soviet politician more warmly congratulated Egon Krenz on his election. Egon Krenz thanked Mikhail Gorbachev for his congratulations, and expressed the conviction that the firm and indestructible fraternal bond between both parties and countries is a decisive foundation for the further fashioning of socialism in the GDR. The experiences of Soviet communists in restructuring in their country are also significant for the GDR. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the strengthening of socialism and the securing of peace is of utmost importance. In this sense the intensive exchange of ideas and experiences between the SED and the CPSU, between the Soviet Union and the GDR, is also of great importance.

Mikhail Gorbachev invited Egon Krenz to visit the Soviet Union. The visit will take place in the near future. General Secretary Krenz expressed his gratitude for the invitation and stressed that the visit would present an opportunity to give a briefing on the policy of renewal and continuity in the GDR, as well as on the tasks being tackled by the SED Central Committee, to familiarize himself on the spot with developments in the Soviet Union, and to discuss questions of further cooperation in all areas. They would also have the opportunity to discuss topical aspects of their joint work for disarmament and securing peace.

Both politicians reasserted their conviction that the SED and the CPSU, standing shoulder to shoulder, are decisive elements of the common struggle for socialism and peace today, as in the past.

Finally, Egon Krenz wished the CPSU Central Committee general secretary great success in solving the tasks laid down by the 19th Party Conference.

SPUTNIK Magazine To Return to Circulation

LD2010211489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1531 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Soviet monthly magazine SPUTNIK is to return to the newspaper distribution

service and postal subscription lists. The Book Export-Import foreign trade enterprise will enter into corresponding negotiations with its Soviet partner so that SPUTNIK can be made available to subscribers and kiosks as soon as possible.

This was announced today by the GDR minister of posts and telecommunications, Rudolph Schulze.

'Provocative Attack' on West Berlin Frontier

LD2010193889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1623 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Yesterday at around 2240, a provocative attack was perpetrated on the state frontier of the GDR to West Berlin. Five West Berliners had scaled the wall at the Brandenburg Gate and they threw paving stones at frontier security forces in view of onlookers. Lance Corporal Holger Singer called on the provocateurs to leave the sovereign territory of the GDR. Thereupon, stones were aimed at him. The subsequent demands by the frontier guards were against answered with stone-throwing. A total of 50 paving stones flew onto GDR territory. When the repeated exhortations and warnings had no results, the frontier guards received the order to drive the frontier violators from the wall with the jet of water from a fire extinguisher pipe in order to prevent a prolongation of the provocation. At 2257, peace and order were restored. Only afterwards did the police from West Berlin and a British military patrol appear.

The commander of the relevant section of the GDR frontier troops, Colonel Friedrich Reisener, told ADN that since the beginning of October, there had been a considerable increase in the attacks on the state frontier, especially in the section between the Reichstag riverbank and the corner of Friedrich and Zimmer Streets. The aim was to provoke the frontier troops into rash actions. Certain forces needed an incident on the frontier.

Sergeant Ralph Jekat, who was also on duty during the night in question, said: "As frontier soldiers, we want the citizens of the GDR to be able to live in peace. This is a right guaranteed by the U.N. Charter." Peace-endangering actions of this type serve neither the climate between the two German states nor the dialogue in the country.

FRG TV's Police Brutality Claim Rejected

LD2110214589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2104 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Interior Ministry, on Saturday, has immediately denied and rejected under protest an infamous allegation in the "TODAY" program of ZDF.

ZDF [Second German Television] correspondent Michael Schmitz said—without producing even a shred of evidence—that the people's police had forced women arrested during demonstrations to strip naked. Police had hit them on their private parts.

The commentator of GDR Television's "Aktuelle Kamera": "Anyone hitting below the belt in this way can have but one aim: Namely to incite people and fan the emotions, which is intended to make a businesslike, constructive dialogue difficult, or even impossible."

Modrow, FRG's Mischnick Talk in Dresden

LD2010224789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2009 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden Socialist Unity Party of Germany Bezirk [Area] Executive, met for talks today in Dresden with Wolfgang Mischnick, the chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP] parliamentary group in the FRG Bundestag. [passage omitted]

Modrow and Mischnick spoke in favor of the development of contacts between the parliaments of the GDR and the FRG. The two politicians expressed themselves accordingly to journalists after the 2-hour talks. There had been unity on this point just as there had been unity on the point that the preserving of peace was the basic question of our time, Modrow said. Any talk about a Germany within the frontiers of 1937 was no offer and could not be a matter for politics.

There was further agreement on the expansion of economic relations, above all of medium-scale and small-scale enterprises, which were represented in particular by his party, Mischnick added. They had spoken about everything openly and exchanged thoughts of what could be formed together. The FDP politician also cited other possibilities for sister cities and two-way tourism in this connection.

Bonn Politician Says Things 'Set in Motion'

LD2210101189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Things have been set in motion in the GDR in the opinion of the chairman of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] group in the FRG's Bundestag, [Wolfgang] Mischnick. In Dresden he above all pointed out to journalists the areas of freedom to travel and the economy. At the same time Mischnick spoke of remarkable changes in the GDR's press policy. He said of his preceeding talks with the chairman of the Dresden Area (Bezirk) LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] that they had not had to discuss the great issue of securing peace because the two parties agree on this point. They had discussed deepening cooperation. Mischnick is the first Bonn politician to visit the GDR after the change at the head of the Socialist Unity Party of German.

Citizens Invited To Return With Impunity

LD2210192689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] The GDR Government renewed its offer today to those citizens who have left the country illegally to return

to the GDR, guaranteeing them complete impunity. Guenther Lampert, director of the consular division of the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG, made a statement to this effect on GDR radio. Anyone wishing to return will receive material and financial aid and judicial assistance without bureaucratic hassles.

The consul reported that in the last week over 150 GDR citizens who have left the country reported their wish to return at the permanent mission. Most of them registered after the ninth session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committe and the speech by Egon Krenz. Many other citizens have also swiftly reached the conclusion that the FRG is not the acclaimed country they were led to believe.

The consul stressed that the offer of return applies only to those people who were not officially released from GDR citizenship. Anyone who is no longer a citizen must file his or her request to return with the Foreign Ministry in West Berlin.

Some Request Return

LD2210214689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2041 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—There are an increasing number of enquiries being made in the GDR's Permanent Mission in Bonn by former GDR citizens seeking information on the possibilities of returning to their native country, according to Consul Guenter Lampat. He said that over the weekend over 50 people had come to the mission with enquiries of this kind.

Last Thursday, 87 such enquiries were made by citizens who said that they wanted to return home immediately.

Emigres in Warsaw Assured of Right to Return

LD2010181489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Just a few minutes ago, Guenter Koch held the following discussion with Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Koch] The GDR, in agreement with the government of the Polish People's Republic, has decided to grant permission for the permanent emigration of the GDR citizens who are at present in the FRG Embassy in Warsaw through the GDR Embassy in the Polish People's Republic. Could you give some details of this decision?

[Meyer] The GDR was exclusively guided in this decision by humanitarian concerns. We have therefore taken the initiative and submitted a relevant proposal to the Polish Government, which met with the full approval of our eastern neighbor. Nobody should misunderstand this decision. It was not an easy decision to make. We need every citizen, male and female, and we are willing to explore with everyone and remove the causes that have led to so many people having turned their back on us.

[Koch] Whom does this decision affect?

[Meyer] This decision affects those GDR citizens who, influenced also by the ballyhoo of the Western media in the past few weeks, abandoned their homeland, their job, their relatives, and their friends and acquaintances in the GDR. They are those who, misguided by the illegal caring duty of the FRG for all the Germans, went to the FRG Embassy in Warsaw and refused to return to the GDR.

[Koch] Does this decision apply only to the GDR Embassy in the Polish People's Republic?

[Meyer] Yes. This decision is of a temporary nature, and everyone should assume that these things can be settled very much better in the GDR.

[Koch] And why didn't the citizens chose the normal way?

[Meyer] A good question. Every GDR citizen has the right to apply to the competent internal affairs departments for an exit visa. These applications are liberally decided by the internal affairs departments. Hence, efforts to achieve emigration via FRG embassies are incomprehensible. Those concerned should realize that—even if they fail to see that this is their homeland—such a step entails many problems (?which could only be solved sensibly in their homeland). Let me just mention issues that touch on relatives or the property of the relevant citizens in the GDR.

[Koch] And what will happen when citizens now decide to return to the GDR?

[Meyer] Every citizen who desires to return can apply to the diplomatic representation of the GDR abroad, including also the permanent mission of the GDR in the FRG. In this the GDR is guided by the internationally valid principle according to which everybody can return to his homeland. We shall help all those who seek to return—assuming there are no good reasons dictating otherwise—as much as possible to enable them to return to their native homeland. May I point out in conclusion that the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee has proposed to the government (?to prepare) a bill on foreign travel by GDR citizens. Meanwhile, and as already reported, the Interior Ministry has been asked to work out such a bill and (?to present it) to the Council of Ministers. [sentence indistinct] [end recording]

New Law To Allow Citizens to Travel 'Anywhere'

LD2010191689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The new travel law will allow GDR citizens to travel anywhere in the future. This was announced on television this afternoon by the head of the Passport and Registration Department in the Interior Ministry, Colonel (Gerhard Lauter). The Interior Ministry is preparing the draft law to this effect. The main problem is to provide financial support for travel possibilities. This

could not be affected by legal means alone, but the economic sectors of the state were also called upon to reflect on matters and find solutions. All proposals by the citizens themselves are also required. They can address them to the Passport Section of the Interior Ministry. In view of the great interest in the subject, it is expected, however, that a state commission on travel issues will be set up.

Roadblocks to Travel

LD2110085189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0401 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the commentary NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes today entitled "Opportunities to Travel—what we want and who is lying in the way," reads as follows:

Again and again the issue of opportunity for travel is debated, as is the departure of thousands of young people, the elimination of shortages, the work performance principle, or the development of socialist democracy in the open, and often the debates are passionate.

The very first statement: We want opportunities to travel for everyone. It is well known that the Politburo has proposed to the GDR Government that it should prepare a draft law on travel abroad by GDR citizens. It is envisaged that this draft should be debated and voted on in the People's Chamber after public discussion.

It could be read in our edition yesterday that in the meantime the Interior Ministry has been given the task of preparing this draft law. No doubt this corresponds to the expectations of many people, who say: We do not want to leave the GDR. We want to help change things for the better for our country and its citizens. But we would like to see Vienna, or Paris, or Munich, or Stockholm, and we would return to our homeland with interesting impressions from such a journey.

By the way, Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer cited an interesting aspect of this issue when he said travel also had something to do with one's outlook on the world—viewing the world.

Truth requires us to say that one difficulty and one hindrance above all stands in the way of our intention and the wishes of many. The difficulty, a tangible economic problem, was summarized by the social scientist Professor Otto Reinhold in the following words: If one considers the 7.2 million visits to the FRG made by GDR citizens last year, and then takes into account that each visitor stayed for about a week and needed M500, this would total approximately M3.5 billion in hard currency. In the relevant debate on GDR television on Thursday evening, Professor Max Schmidt added that "opportunities such as extending the GDR's foreign trade scope, for example with the FRG, should be used for making hard currency." In any case, a matter concerning larger contexts. But we would be able to overcome that.

It remains to talk about the hindrance. It was set up in Bonn and consists of not respecting GDR citizenship. The obstinate clinging to the "duty to care for all Germans" is an element of the old, unfortunate Hallstein Doctrine, and of the FRG's claim to be the sole representative of the German people. A part of Bonn's revanchist basic concept, which contradicts international law and the Basic Treaty. If Bonn is so interested in reforms in the GDR and in improving the life of people in our republic, it should no longer lie in this way on this so important point. Is it true that realistically thinking people on the Rhine are beginning to understand, and are considering how one can get away from, the "duty to care?" It would be timely and very good...

Exodus Costs M330 Million Per 10,000

LD1910092489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0826 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The youth paper JUNGE WELT deals today with the losses to the GDR economy as a result of the emigration of the many tens of thousands of people to the FRG.

The paper asks renowned economic scientist Professor Dr Peter Thal of the Halle/Wittenberg Martin-Luther University. The economist points out that, with a national income of M268.4 billion, and 8.6 million people employed in the GDR, 0.12 percent of the national income is lost annually for every 10,000 people emigrating. That makes approximately M330 million, the scientist stresses.

As we are dealing here predominantly with young people, the GDR is losing, for the 30 years of work still before each person, M10 billion for each 10,000 people emigrating.

"Our loss is the others' gain!" Prof Thal says. The national income loss for the GDR is therefore a potential national income growth for the FRG. The economic scientist states, "How hypocritical is the constant appeal for humanity, by means of which attempts are made to hide the striven-for political destabilization of the GDR, and to play down one's own economic advantage."

Economic Discussions Under Way With Vietnam

AU1810152989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR-SRV Economic Discussions Started"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 15th session of the GDR-SRV Economic Committee started in Berlin on Monday [16 October]. The Vietnamese delegation is headed by Dong Si Nguyen, deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers. The GDR delegation is headed by Deputy Council of Ministers Chairman Horst Soelle.

The 15th session of the Economic Committee will particularly discuss further cooperation with the SRV in the

field of light industry, cooperation in cultivating and processing natural rubber, raw coffee, coconuts, and pepper, the further use of Vietnamese working people in GDR enterprises, and goods exchange between the two countries.

New Wave of Demonstrations Breaks Out

20,000 in Dresden

LD2110080889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2309 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—After a service in the Church of the Cross on Friday evening, about 20,000 citizens demonstrated through the center of Dresden. They called for the continuation of the dialogue which has been started, with the inclusion of all forces.

The demonstration passed without incident.

Plauen Protest

LD2110223189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2140 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Between 10,000 and 15,000 citizens from Plauen, other districts of the Karl-Marx-Stadt area, as well as from the Erfurt, Gera, Leipzig, Dresden and Halle areas, participated on Saturday in a peaceful demonstration in Plauen (GDR area Karl-Marx-Stadt). They shouted slogans demanding "Egon Make a Go Of It," "Work, Work, Work," "Freedom of Speech," "Freedom to Travel."

Afterwards Chief Mayor Dr Norbert Martin spoke to thousands gathered outside the town hall about the more just distribution of housing, the necessary redistribution of the town's building capacities to solve Plauen's problems more speedily, and other local government tasks of the immediate future.

30,000 in Plauen

LD2110193289 Hamburg DPA in German 1910 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to a report from the "Tagesschau" [FRG TV news], about 30,000 people demonstrated this afternoon for reforms in the GDR in the town of Plauen in Saxony. It was said that during this demonstration, inter alia, the call for more democracy and free elections was voiced.

DPA Reports Protestors

LD2110174789 Hamburg DPA in German 1705 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Over 1,000 people formed a chain this afternoon in East Berlin and marched to near the police position in Keibelstrasse. They were protesting against the violent attacks by security forces and requesting the release of those still be detained, as well as the discontinuation of all proceedings still pending against non-violent demonstrators.

The march started at the Palace of the Republic where Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Guenter Schabowski came onto the street and discussed this topic and the current situation in the country with numerous citizens. While the people joined hands and moved over the Alexanderplatz to the Keibelstrasse, which was cordoned off by police, the first secretary of the East Berlin SED area executive had to listen to criticism, at times vehement, from the populace. Even when the protest march was already in Keibelstrasse, at 1730 there were still discussion groups in front of the Palace of the Republic. Apart from Schabowski there were also other SED functionaries in the throng—in front of running television cameras.

The silent march to the police position went off peacefully. Because the people used pavements and pedestrian subways on Alexanderplatz there were also no traffic disturbances. Then the crowd gathered for a silent protest around the closed-off Keibelstrasse. [passage omitted]

2,000 in East Berlin

LD2110181489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Schabowski and other members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Secretariat area executive deliberately sought a dialogue with citizens who formed a human chain in the center of Berlin this afternoon. An anonymous broadsheet had called for the demonstration. About 2,000, mainly young, people formed a chain from the Palace of the Republic in the direction of Alexanderplatz, through the pedestrian subway and to the police headquarters.

Outside the premises of the People's Chamber, Politburo member Guenter Schabowski and Chief Mayor Erhard Krack held a discussion with demonstrators and other citizens. Subjects discussed were travel opportunities and the right to demonstrate, as well as forms of dialogue and results. Also debated were police measures, attacks by participants and their investigations.

The first area secretary of the SED said that he had come here today in order to talk and help ensure that the situation would not worsen. He added that political conflicts should and could be solved only by political means.

Schabowski Meets Protesters

LD2110203589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1934 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Schabowski and other members of the secretariat of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] area executive conducted a dialogue with citizens who, in the center of the capital, formed a human chain on Saturday afternoon. An anonymous broadsheet

called for this unauthorized demonstration. Many of the approximately 1,000, [figure as received] mainly young, people marched in silence forming a chain, from the Palace of the Republic in the direction of Alexanderplatz and through the pedestrian subway to the police headquarters. Only the approaches to the police headquarters in Keibel street were secured by police.

At the starting point, outside the premises of the people's Chamber, Politburo member Guenter Schabowski and Chief Mayor Erhard Krack conducted for over an hour a discussion with demonstrators and other citizens. He came here in order to talk and help avoid a possible worsening of the situation, the first SED area secretary said. Political conflicts should, and could, be solved only by political means. Subjects of the exchange of views, conducted on the whole in a businesslike, in parts vehement, fashion, were travel opportunities, the right to demonstrate, forms and results of the dialogue. Also debated were the police measures 2 weeks ago, attacks by participants and their investigations.

Force can be no component part of dialogue, it was said. Asked about excesses, Guenter Schabowski promised that as a deputy he would advocate that the general prosecuting attorney conduct an uncompromising investigation.

Asked about licencing procedures for demonstrations, he emphasized that there would have to be a guarantee that these would be peaceful gatherings. Whoever applies for them will have to accept responsibility for them. Whoever authorizes them has the duty to ensure that nothing happens.

Asked to ensure speedy arrangements for foreign travel, Schabowski replied that this issue has the "highest priority." However, he pointed out that all the foreign currency which is needed for this must be earned or "cuts introduced" elsewhere. Only demagogues promise easy solutions for complicated questions. Things being done at present should not be brushed aside as "a trap" right from the start, a fear expressed by one of the interlocutors. Everybody, Guenter Schabowski said, everybody at his place, should now assume responsibility. [Hamburg DPA in German at 1924 GMT on 21 October adds the following: "There is to be a discussion of the planned easing of travel restrictions 'as early as the beginning of next week' in the competent bodies. This was promised by SED Politburo member Schabowski in conversation with demonstrators in East Berlin."]

Police Defend Actions in Berlin Protests

LD2010213589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2022 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Reports and complaints against people's police members against whom charges were pressed in connection with the events of 7 and 8 October in Berlin were commented upon on Friday by Colonel of the People's Police Dr Dieter Dietze, deputy president of the Berlin People's Police and chief of staff, and Klauss Voss, first deputy general prosecuting attorney of Berlin. Berlin journalists, among them from ADN, had requested this discussion.

The measures of the People's Police on those 2 days had corresponded to the legal stipulations, Dr Dietze said. Any other approach would distort cause and effect. The actions of a number of persons had constituted acts of hooliganism and unlawful assembly. The chief of staff referred also to the grave physical violence against members of the People's Police. There had been abuse, stones, bottles, and other objects had been thrown and clubs had been confiscated. Furthermore, in order to protect the People's Police forces, special equipment had to be used. Since public order and security had been considerably impaired, there had been not only the justification but also the duty the reestablish it with the requisite means.

Col Dr Dietze also said it was naturally clear that police actions in public and, what was more, involving weapons to a hitherto unknown extent, were rejected by a large part of the population. However, he could offer the assurance that reports, comments, information, and petitions—at present 60 petitions or complaints had been received by the police headquarters—would be thoroughly investigated. However, one could and should proceed from the premise that the citizens in uniform fulfilled their duty and did not enjoy such necessary deployments.

Prosecuting attorney Klaus Voss referred to clear legal stipulations to which prosecutor and investigating organs were obliged to accept any report or information and to examine them with an open mind. This was one of the fundamental tasks in supervising the strict adherence to socialist legislation, which had to be safeguarded according to the Constitution. This served not only the protection of the socialist state and social order but also the protection of each and every individual citizen.

"I can assure you when there is the suspicion of a crime the person responsible will be called to account; this is provided for by the laws, and we shall implement this uncompromisingly." At the same time, steps were taken to compensate without delay innocent people for damage inflicted as laid down by the valid provisions of the law.

The prosecuting attorney pointed out once again that every citizen could apply to the state prosecutor's office either in writing or in person in order to make reports or petitions. Naturally, solicitors could be employed for advice or representation. There has been nobody held in custody in Berlin since 13 October.

Demonstrators' Criticism of Media 'Justified'

AU2110215489 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Oct 89 p 2

[Peter Venus commentary: "Leipzig, Monday Night"]

[Text] On Monday [16 October] 100,000 people took to the streets in Leipzig. They were not hooligans, they were citizens from Leipzig and the surrounding area, of different age, different social origin, and different ideology.

Among them there were certainly many who thought that they had to call in this way for the long overdue dialogue between the party, the state, and the people about long-emerged problems of our society. Dialogue was also discussed in Nikolai Church in Leipzig during a previous peace prayer.

Dialogue! I tried to talk to demonstrators. Not as a reporter of the Bayerischer Rundfunk Network but as a comrade of BERLINER ZEITUNG. Only in very rare cases was it possible to establish a dialogue. Instead, I heard monologues of my interlocutors, harsh criticism of the newspapers and mass media of the GDR.

Criticism which is justified. And I do not blame my Leipzig interlocutors for focusing their displeasure on my person.

However, I am worried about how much time we will need to get our of this state of confrontation. I can certainly turn my cheek in a good Christian way a few more times, but should not all people, who are really concerned about socialism in the GDR, slowly start to exercise the culture of productive conflict instead of engaging in confrontations?

Dialogue on Current Problems Continues

LD2010235289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2024 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The open and constructive dialogue on the resolving of current social development problems was continued today throughout the country, through meetings between citizens, politicians, and party functionaries.

In Falkensee (Potsdam Bezirk [Area]) representatives from housing committees and town committees as well as deputies discussed how committees of the National Front in towns and communities should and could more effectively represent the citizens' interests. In the presence of Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, many problems were addressed: questions of supplies and replacement parts, maintenance of housing stock and its distribution, stimulation of the manual workers, inclusion of the youth in the work of the committees, and respect by superordinate management of resolved plan documents for the regions. One result was that residents' assemblies should not simply be conducted once a quarter to settle things but should convene when the situation requires it.

According to Werner Kirchhoff it is the task of the National Front committees to ally themselves more closely with the citizens in the residential areas, housing and street communities, to more actively devote themselves to their concerns. Everything that impeded contact to them had to be eliminated, formal features had to be overcome, one's own style of working considered. This was necessary from the National Council down to the regional committees. It was a question of how the tasks were completed and the administration was organized and controlled.

Workers from the Berlin-Tapete publicly owned enterprise expressed their displeasure to Professor Doctor Karl Gruenheid, minister of the glass and ceramics industry, about the fact that production disruptions which have nothing to do with their work have an effect on their wages. Payment according to machine hours and quality prompted them to carry out smaller repairs themselves.

Workers and employees of the Aschersleben machine-tools factory (Halle Bezirk) were united in a round of discussions with Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Hans-Joachim Boehme. As before, there was hard work in heat and dust, foundry manager Rolf Lange stated to the SED bezirk head. He had repeatedly made proposals to attract more people to the foundry. The answer had failed to appear, as it had to other questions. "But now everyone is pleased about the open words of the party leadership because the truth, even if it hurts, stimulates the worker more than any success trickery."

According to his [Lange's] words the colleagues did not wish for any reform in the direction of capitalism but for order in the state and in the enterprise so that they can work continuously and can bring about great performances. Here a lack of supplies and unbalanced plans had, above all, an impeding effect.

One of the most important sources of hard currency for the GDR is the potash industry. The miners in Wera-Revier are also trying to continue to secure good export profits with the production of high-quality fertilizers and technical salts. However, the hard work undergound and in the factories has to find expression more perceptibly in a higher quality of life. Potash miners presented these thoughts to Hans Albrecht, first secretary of the Suhl SED Bezirk executive, during a pit tour. "The men also want to buy something decent with their money. We have sufficient non-sellers; it is a question of quality goods," miners said to Albrecht. The more than 8,000 miners come from about 100 villages in the Suhl and Erfurt Bezirke. Many of them live in border communities. The problems for visiting possibilities and supplies connected with this were also discussed in a lively fashion. With reference to the necessary security at the GDR state border, the sensitive dividing line between two social systems, Hans Albrecht promised that he would forward this question to the relevant offices.

Dresden Assembly to Discuss Social Issues

LD2010145889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1404 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Today the chairmen of the Standing Commissions of the Dresden City Assembly presented a catalogue of local and social issues at a press conference. The document will be put up for public discussion by the deputies.

It also contains such problems as those raised by citizens in conversation with the mayor after the events of the past few weeks in the city on the Elbe. The proposal to set up working groups to investigate various problems listed in the catalogue is being put to the assembly.

The Dresden City Assembly will meet next Thursday for an extraordinary session. The session had been announced by Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer during talks with citizens and church representatives.

Liberal Democrats Affirm Value of Socialism

LD2010115789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0411 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberal Democrats in the GDR have taken up socialism and act for it, DER MORGEN notes today in a leader article.

"We Liberal Democrats could not have foreseen that we would one day see socialism as the social order that in the end became for us the epitome of our actions that is desirable, worth preserving, and worth shaping," the central organ of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) continues. The party has come forward to preserve what has been seen as good and to further meaningfully shape it; to courageously remove, together with the alliance partners and with any non-party person who is truly concerned about the GDR, shortcomings, encrustations, distortions, and bureaucratic hindrances that have accumulated.

The leading role of the working class and its party remains for the LDPD completely non-negotiable. "In this respect we infer from the words of Egon Krenz, the newly elected general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, what increase in value our alliance of parties is to receive."

"Our party," the leader continues, has in the past, on account of its path of development, been subject to much disparagement and defamation from its opponents; words such as betrayal and opportunism were the mildest to be used. Because of this we also do not attach any importance at all to recommendations made by its opponents on how socialism in the GDR should be shaped. The chain of diversion tactics and acts of sabotage against our republic, of new sophisticated and subtle anti-communist machinations, that accompany these recommendations, is a long one. We are remaining on our guard, for we will not permit socialism to be overshadowed or even levered out."

Paper Says Krenz 'Kicked Open the Door'

LD2110092389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0415 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In its leading article today, DER MORGEN points to one of the first official acts of the new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] general secretary, announcing the decisions of his party's leading bodies to the democratic bloc. During this, Krenz stressed that from the SED's point of view, it was a matter of plumbing the possibilities of the multiparty system and bringing them to unlimited fruition in the interests of the people. Professor Manfred Bogisch, member of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] Central Executive Committee, writes under the title: "Points of Agreement and Expectations."

"At the same time, I think, this points to failings that were allowed, particularly in the recent past, and that moved our party chairman to publicly express the LDPD's concerns on many occasions," it says in the LDPD central organ.

"The LDPD sees many of its points backed up by Egon Krenz's first speech. He has kicked open the door to a supposed turning point in government policy. Now it is up to us and all social forces courageously to step through it and continue our common work on a fresh political basis. The cardinal problem is restoring confidence in the government and its leading force, the SED. Everything depends on this. The starting point is indeed and quite particularly the love of truth and a sense of reality in all areas. These can be guaranteed mainly in two ways: By mobilizing and utilizing the experiences, confidence, political education, and goodwill of most of our country's citizens, and by bringing about and guaranteeing political openess."

"In the meantime, a democratic dialogue has been set in motion which reflects in a fascinating way most citizens' intelligence, political sensitivity, ability to learn, and readiness for purposeful commitment to socialism, which makes it possible for people actually to be human," the paper goes on to write. "That also can be said differently: How many ideas, suggestions, and experiences have remained unspoken in the past, have been wasted or unrecognized, and not seldom decried as heresy? Of course, the dialogue is not an end or a value in itself, however valuable and indispensible it may be. Dialogue must bring results aiming at renewals that promote the turning point announced by Egon Krenz. Dialogue, of course, particularly refers to the alliance of parties and their common search for solutions which can be accepted and supported by all social forces, including citizens' movements."

The LDPD bears political co-responsbility for society as a whole, Professor Bogisch notes. "The LDPD is not motivated by neuroses concerning its image; we are driven by our obligation to the people actually to tap all possible forces for fashioning socialism. This is not possible without the mature citizen, which Egon Krenz

cited as the basic precondition, and I think that means finally taking leave of campaigns, linguistic rulings and empty political set phrases: The citizen is mature!"

More Than 500 Attend Leipzig Dialogue

LD2210180489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Many more than 500 citizens met this morning in the Leipzig Gewandhaus as a prelude to a broadly structured public debate which is to be continued in future every Sunday in various halls around Leipzig's Karl-Marx-Platz.

The discussion forum, which united people of all generations—workers, craftsmen, and scientists, schoolchildren, apprentices and students, as well as white-collar workers, artists and officials—is designed to help determine together the future goals of the social development in the GDR, as "Karl-Marx-Platz Dialogue." This was outlined in an introductory speech given by Gewandhaus musical director Professor Kurt Masur, who, along with the secretaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany area executive Dr Kurt Meier, Jochen Pommert and Dr Roland Woetzel, theologian Dr Peter Zimmermann, and the cabaret artist Bernd-Lutz Lange, had issued invitations to this meeting. These six well known Leipzig figures had made an appeal to the demonstrators in the center of Leipzig on 9 October, to seek dialogue, in a calm and collected way, on the questions and problems currently requiring resolution.

The fact that the dialogue actually got under way is greatly welcomed. But it is now time to discuss constructively the causes of the situation which has arisen, and to find solutions in accordance with the wishes of the people as a whole, for a way out of the situation. The proposals and demands were aimed above all at rendering irreversible the process now introduced. It cannot be tolerated that people in charge should take up new positions simply on the basis of instructions. There is a need for new mechanisms of the exercise of power, so that decisions are no longer taken without consideration of the people. The initiatives which have emerged, not least from Leipzig, must serve to introduce decisive improvements in the standard of living in the city, in the area, and throughout the whole country.

The "Karl-Marx-Platz dialogue," it was concluded at the end of the first talk, which lasted 3 hours, will continue on selected topics, in order to progress from points of view to concepts and actions.

NDPD Deputies Demand Frank Dialogue

AU1810230089

[Editorial report] East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German on 16 October 1989 on page 3 carries a 2,000-word item headlined "Reflect, Speak Your Mind, And Above All, Go Ahead," reporting on a discussion between editors of this daily and People's Chamber deputies of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] on the question of what they "have been concerned with in these moving days."

Party member Professor Eberhard Kallenbach says that "on the whole, we can be proud of what we have created." However, he also believes that the GDR "must react to changes in the world more than it has done so far." He says that while the GDR "pursues a recognized foreign policy," its "domestic policy goals, which are right on principle," are "not always well-considered." He criticizes the "shameless virulent campaign" against the GDR, but deplores the fact that so many people have left the country as "a loss." He says that the people's concerns and problems must be taken into account to a larger extent, and their opinions must be considered more by politicians.

Deputy Hans-Harm Leweke agrees with Eberhard Kallenbach and adds that the people must be listened to. He says that the "positive values of the GDR's 40-year development must be maintained and expanded." However, "the experiences of others, especially those countries with which we maintain friendly relations, should also be considered by us to avoid the impression that we refuse to open up or to accept democracy."

Reporting on the daily problems that she is confronted with as a People's Chamber deputy, Elisabeth Toegel says that it is not enough to answer questions; the people want to "see changes, because understanding has its limits when supply problems are not resolved."

Konrad Richter says that the GDR is now in a "mood marked by departure." He welcomes the fact that "a dialogue has started that we wanted to have long ago." He says that the negative aspects that manifested themselves in the recent demonstrations should not cause "us to denounce all those who took part, and to declare them our enemies."

Manfred Hamann, who is chairman of a production cooperative in Leipzig, says that he is worried by the demonstrations, and that what has been achieved in 40 years "must be protected, maintained, and developed further for the citizens' benefit."

Asked by the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG editors what should be discussed publicly, the participants in the discussion say that everyday problems and personal wishes regarding consumer goods should be discussed. However, "the idealistic aspect" should not be left out of account either. "Travel is one of the points that should be discussed. It has become an issue, but it must be faced, and new considerations" must be introduced into the discussion, the NDPD members say.

Readers' Letters Cited

AU1910144489

[Editorial Report] On 17 October several GDR dailies—DER MORGEN, NEUE ZEIT, and BERLINER ZEITUNG—publish readers' letters, totaling some 5,000 words, on the subject of the need for public discussion of problems in the GDR.

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German on page 5, under the headline "Letters to the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD)," carries letters from LDPD members and affiliated citizens, totalling 3,500 words, discussing the mass exodus of GDR citizens and generally expressing approval of the remarks recently made by LDPD Chairman Manfred Gerlach on various occasions, in which he has said that problems must be discussed publicly.

Physician Wolfgang Wetzstein of Bad Lebenwerda writes: "I, too, am very shocked about the emigration of so many people, including many physicians. This shows us all that profound resignation has spread, the roots of which are to be looked for in the disappointment about the absence of necessary decisions in the GDR."

The Advisory Youth Council at the LDPD Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee urges Gerlach to "publicly continue the new start which has now been brought about in public and not to let it stop." It continues: "We want to sow the hope that it will be worth staying at home, to know that there is a party which tears the gag from its mouth, makes things public, and works publicly. Because of the depressing fact, we would like to mention that we think that the 'temporary' introduction of compulsory passports and visas for people who want to go to the CSSR has not been sufficiently thought out. Again, it is not causes but effects that are tackled."

The LDPD Kreis Association of City of Dresden, City District Association East, Dresden-Blasewitz Residential Area Group writes: "We can look back in pride on many achievements. However, in the discussion the concern becomes clear that the achievements can break up quickly. Responsible thinking and acting imperatively requires honesty toward everyone among the public. It is of no use to our society—on the contrary, it causes damage to it—if successes are reported by all media to a disproportionate extent and the current problems are swept under the rug. The longstanding violation of the principle of criticism and self-criticism has caused the citizens to place less and less trust in our policy. In many places this fact leads to resignation and contributes to the wave of emigration. No one is immune to mistakes, no state organ and no party! The admission of mistakes is a sign of strength, and objections are not opposition, and certainly not hostile to the state."

LDPD member Hans-Joachim Flohr of Strausberg pays tribute to Gerlach's speech on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of "critical publicist" and "German patriot" Karl von Ossietsky, in which he says the problems in society must be discussed, (an abridged version of which speech was published by DER MORGEN on 30 September) and writes: "Finally, and I think it was high time, the longstanding permanent ignorance of unpleasant but still important domestic and foreign policy events has been overcome. A position was adopted, and this was not done by anybody but by the LDPD chairman, who, at the same time is deputy chairman of the GDR State Council! As the first and so far highest-ranking politician of our country, you had the courage to do this, which fills me with certain pride but also gives rise to expectations."

LDPD member Karlheinz Kaul of Leipzig writes: "In my view, we finally need a media and information policy in this country that comprehensively informs the citizen, is more interesting, and really addresses more people in general. A generally educated person of the present needs and wants more leeway to form his own opinion; he does not want to be presented with things that have been thought out and decided somewhere else. It is also no longer understandable that, by claiming that the opponent could use this for his baiting against socialism, existing conditions and facts that are worth criticizing (e.g. environmental protection) are not published. Of course, the Western media circus is to be condemned most categorically. Human fates are recklessly exploited here. On the other hand, what did we expect! Did we really expect that the opponent would spare us, would act with consideration! Of course, he uses every available opportunity to do us harm. We have to live with this. (Overly sensitive reactions, such as, among other things, canceling meetings, do not help. And this baiting is certainly not the primary reason for the current calamity!) We can counter these attacks only if we raise the attractiveness of our society and engage in successful work."

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German on page 3, under the headline "Making the Best out of Socialism With Our Strength," carries four readers' letters, totalling 700 words, commenting on the Politburo statement of 12 October. A member of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Brigade in the Berlin Energy Combine notes that he read the Politburo statement with "great interest" and asks: "Why did they react only now to all these problems? Was it necessary for many thousands of citizens to take a step which many of them may already regret?"

Another reader notes that the GDR refugees have to work much harder in the FRG than they ever had to in the GDR and asks "whether they expected that in socialism prosperity falls from the trees? It is undisputed that one can only consume what has been worked for. If everyone had understood this as a matter of course and had shown a corresponding readiness for performance, we would be much farther today."

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German on page 3, under the headline "Thoughts That Concern Our Readers," carries an 800-word summary of readers' letters discussing the current problems in the GDR. One reader is quoted as

saying: "Patronizing us is of no use to us, we do not need it, the problems are and remain our very own business. But we need one thing: a frank dialogue in which honesty and mutual respect—without patronizing and arrogance—will produce a situation of trust, where the results of the dialogue are openly cited. This means that there must be an end to superior behavior, cases of overestimating oneself, arrogance, and partly also incompetence, with which many citizens are confronted. The problems that have to be solved are so varied that time and patience will be needed. One must understand this, but putting things off without justification leads to new conflicts."

Another letter refers to the recent demonstrations and says: "We are happy and thank everyone who is responsible that violence did not escalate at the peace prayers in Leipzig on Monday last week [9 October]. We feared that violence would escalate, because on the one hand, we saw the presence of state power in the city before the religious service and because, on the other hand, it was not possible to predict that everyone involved—demonstrators and security forces—would forego the use of violence."

Referring to recent events, a third letter notes: "As regards events like the ones of the past weeks, one has to distinguish clearly between the extreme minority of hooligans and rowdies and the overwhelming majority of those who have a positive attitude toward our state."

Newspapers Note Efforts

LD2310085489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0305 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Everywhere discussions are being held; on all issues with regard to the development of socialism in our country; on all issues which affect the life and everyday activities of the peoples—critically and openly." This is what NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes today in a commentary on the dialogue provoked at all levels of society in the GDR.

"It testifies to the senses of responsibility for our socialist concern when realistic proposals for solutions are submitted. And it is good when workers, peasants, scientists, and artists stress that, irrespective of what excites and moves us at present, one should not forget or even deny the positive things which have been achieved and which, as socialist achievements, are now taken so much for granted that they are no longer mentioned," the paper writes.

"Wishful thinking does not advance as by a single step," the paper quotes a worker, and writes: "Hence we need the ability to consider: This can and must be done immediately. Other matters will be considered, discussed, and than decided. Finally, there are also issues which take much longer to decide. The worst would be to make promises now which are built on sand."

"It may be an uncomfortable truth, but nothing is for nothing. There is nobody on the horizon who will give us presents," the paper writes. "We must live within our means. Therefore, everything is up to us. Looking at things as a whole, the present difficult situation, and in order to be able to change it genuinely for the better in the spirit of a strong and attractive socialism, Egon Krenz spoke about the need for a social atmosphere of openness, of realism, and of joint action."

The dialogue now underway is today also the subject of other GDR papers. DER MORGEN writes on the talk between demonstrators and Social Unity Party of Germany members in Berlin on Saturday: "SED members had gone into the street as agitators in order to talk, and this controversial offer was taken up by hundreds of Berliners, and found to be good."

Problems raised included freedom of travel, forms of democracy, the election law, supply questions, and New Forum. "The information given by SED members did not satisfy, and failed to silence doubts and scepticism," the lady commentator writes, and continues: "The SED members found confirmation of the fact that a hopeful start has been made with nationwide, honest discussions, and the efforts by the media to provide comprehensive and honest coverage."

NATIONAL ZEITUNG comments on the same topic: "An open dialogue without suitable premises will finally become a mere dialogue between the man in front, the ringleader, and the assistant [vorder-, hinter- und nebenmann]. A solution for a permanent site for dialogue is now also being aimed at in Berlin."

Independent Trade Union Founded in East Berlin

LD2310100889 Hamburg DPA in German 0927 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In East Berlin on Monday workers of the "Wilhelm Pieck" equipment and regulator works in Teltow founded the "independent 'Reform' enterprise trade union." In an appeal calling for the setting up of independent trade unions, which became known in West Berlin, the initiators demand the right to strike and "a halt to the activities of non-union organizations and parties in enterprises," which refers above all, to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the militia groups, the FDJ [Free German Youth], and the Society for German-Soviet Friendship.

All travel restrictions should be lifted for all citizens and the "sufficient provisioning" of all travellers with "foreign currency" should be guaranteed. The crime of flight from the republic should be abolished and those imprisoned because of it should be released. "The privileges of individuals and whole social groups" also should be abolished. Enterprises should have the right to fix the prices for their products, as well as wages and salaries.

The new enterprise trade union accuses the GDR trade union federation, the FDGB [Free German Trade Union

Federation], of not looking after the interests of the majority of the working people, not enjoying their trust, and considering itself as an alliance partner of the SED. The new enterprise trade union is joining the ranks of the democratic reform movement and supports the call for the legalization of the emerging groups and parties, their unhampered political activity and equal participation in free and supervised elections, as well as their demands for press freedom, variety of views in the electronic mass media, freedom of speech, and a democratic right to assembly and demonstration. The "Reform" trade union is answerable only to its members and will not bow to the resolutions of parties or other organizations.

Trade Union Chairman Meets Enterprise Workers

LD2210130589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0958 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Trade union representation of their interests—how workers see it and what they expect from it—was at the center of a meeting on 20 October at VEB [State Enterprise] Bergmann-Borsig to which trade union functionaries at the Berlin factory had invited Harry Tisch at short notice by telephone. As emerges from a report in the 23 October edition of TRIBUNE [trade union newspaper], which was pre-released to ADN, problems of daily work, such as carrying out competition purposefully and honest plan calculation, took up much of the debate with the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation]

According to Harry Tisch, it would not "pin the blame now for failings and problems which were and are present on the unions." He also did not think much of talk of a "triad," that is, of schematic cooperation between unions, management, and party. It was better for the union to commitedly come and put forward its own position on things, on everyday issues of production as well as those of living and working conditions. In all trade union representation of interests it was always a matter of "the unions' own and quite specific contribution. Yes, indeed, it was also a matter of maintaining or regaining militant positions in the full Leninist spirit."

Bernd Waltr, Wolfgang Beyer, Erich Dittmann and other shop stewards for the more than 4,500 employees expressed their doubts about economic mechanisms to date, about the work performance principle, and criticized living and working conditions on power station building sites as well as the allocation of housing in areas on the other side of Berlin from the factory, which had led to resignations, and pointed to the failings of local transport. Achim Vogel pointed to massaging of figures. "Although this factory was evidently in the red by several million marks, good results were always reported to the appropriate offices of state economic management bodies," it says in the TRIBUNE report. Peter Estel was of the opinion that in competition people worked with figures "without content, which are only on paper and which are accepted week by month and year by year" [as heard]

In his replies Harry Tisch spoke of a necessary "restructuring of many processes in the national economy, measures on which were currently being discussed." During his latest visits to factories he had "again and again pointed out that we must finally stop intoxicating ourselves with statistics." This was true for both the set target in competition as well as calculating it. Competition had to be clearly concentrated on the most important things with few key figures, and be based on unambigouous targets set by the state. "It is incomprehensible that now many factory collectives are putting forward extra plans for the 12th party congress but do not know how they will fulfill the annual plans. These practices must finally stop," Harry Tisch said.

The FDGB chairman explained that for years he had supported "not holding the discussion on the plan until the set plan targets were available—that is, in autumn at the earliest, and better still not until November/December. But this year, too, the discussion of the plan had again started in the summer, and—what a load of nonsense—the shop stewards passed resolutions on set targets which have not yet been finally worked out," it is further reported on Harry Tisch's statements. He said, "Competition, as we want it, has to be supported by the staff and not held as a means of managing by the factory management." He answered concerning "inconstistencies in the work performance principle" that "the unions in all branches of industry are inquiring into the current state of affairs, into how payment, wages, salaries, bonuses are worked out, drawing their own analysis from this and helping to effect relevant measures for change. Unjustified differences had to be eliminated just as it had to be made clear that whoever performed better earned more."

The report cites many other issues they were causing the workers' concern, that burdened them in their everyday lives, and which they openly and honestly discussed with Harry Tisch.

Schabowski Meets Workers, Discusses Problems

AU1810130589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Oct 89 p 3

[Wolfram Krause report: "That Which Has To Be Done Now Must Be Done By Us"]

[Excerpts] On Friday [13 October] Guenther Schabowski [Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership] held a vivid and progressive discussion with comrades and colleagues in the Bergmann-Borsig state-owned enterprise. The basis was the Politburo statement of 11 October, with which the working people of this traditional Berlin enterprise expressed their emphatic agreement. [Passage omitted]

No problem that has emerged and needs to be solved was left out of the discussion: the down-to-earth work of our media, travel possibilities for the citizens; housing supply; and housing construction in Wilhelmsruh, which

has long been discussed, to spare the regular workers of the enterprise long commutes.

"Big policy" questions were discussed equally passionately, such as increasing the ability of our foreign exports to generate foreign currency in order to refine our material and intellectual resources in internationally recognized products in such a way that they profit our national economy and are a source of unity of economic and social policy. Concerning the continuation of the policy of subsidies for basic consumer goods and rates, which is seen as beneficial by the workers, it should be considered that every subsidy has to be made at the right place and, above all, not stimulate the waste of produced assets. [passage omitted]

Guenter Schabowski welcomed the fact that in this discussion everybody spoke his mind freely. This talk fully corresponds to the concern of the Politburo statement that started a new stage of preparation for the 12th SED Congress. The path opened by this has to be followed through constructive cooperation, progressive dialogue, and, above all, with tangible achievements at every workplace for the benefit of us all. As everything we have achieved, that which has to be done now can be done only by us and is our responsibility. The decision for socialism is irrevocable. From this viewpoint, we are taking stock critically and further advance in the tested continuation of the line of continuity and renewal, Schabowski said.

Henrich Says Socialism 'Asiatic Despotism'

AU1810195089 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Oct 89 p 3

[Monika Zimmermann report on a visit with Rolf Henrich, one of the co-founders of the New Forum, in Hammerfort: "He Is Through With the System of State Socialism and Is Discovering a New World Around Him"]

[Excerpts] Hammerfort, 15 October—[Passage omitted] Rolf Henrich believes that state socialism as practiced in the GDR is a form of Asiatic despotism that is foreign to Western thought. The czarist empire already represented to him a "semi-Asiatic despotism," and even Gorbachev, the man who also embodies great hopes for many people in the GDR, is for him "probably the most enlightened industrial despot." [passage omitted]

Rolf Henrich hopes that the GDR will get back on track at a fast rate. That includes in his view the forming of parties, which is beginning to take shape, for example with the founding of a Social Democratic Party or the increasing independence of the bloc parties. It is no coincidence that the "New Forum" is not trying to establish itself as a party or as a group of rights activists. Rolf Henrich believes that forming parties is outdated. Now new forms of common work must be found, he says. He also considers it a foregone conclusion that such forms must be rooted in socialism, and not in capitalism. What Rolf Henrich means by that is this: "Socialism is a society which sees its economic basis in public ownership of the crucial means of production." [passage omitted]

Dissidents Use Computers to Message FRG

AU1410151889 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Helmut Brandstaetter report]

[Text] The GDR media regularly report with pride on the socialist achievements in the production of computers and software. The state-owned Robotron enterprise recently presented a model of a 32-megabit chip. However, GDR authorities do not at all like the fact that the citizens use personal computers that are not under official control and even establish contacts with the West through them. However, with Western material and Eastern imagination, opposition computer freaks from the GDR are linked with colleagues from all over the world, in particular west of the Elbe river, in the FRG.

People from the GDR, who call themselves Church Link—thus, they obviously belong to a church group—have, for instance, linked with the Cerberus data network. In a message via the computer network a few days ago, they revealed a bit of their method. They have an IBM computer, obviously a unit smuggled into the GDR. This computer, it was said, is lurking around in GDR opposition circles that can draw up messages to the outside world. These messages are sent via telephone lines to a so-called electronic mailbox in the FRG data network. Because the telephones in the GDR—and in particular the lines of opposition members—are monitored, the brief informational message says that the people involved are using lines that cannot be traced easily, such as large-scale telephone facilities in enterprises, or lines of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. This means that there are already people in the SED who cooperate with critical people.

The electronic letters, brief news, and political essays are not written to the liking of the FRG media and politicans—quite the contrary. An 8 October message addressed to the dear friends and opponents in the FRG, following the East Berlin night of police clubs, says that FRG radio and television are now hated by the GDR opposition—a result of the welcome given to GDR refugees in the FRG, which was felt to be much too cordial by GDR citizens.

However, the anonymous author is aware of the importance of Western television. It is needed as a transmission belt for our concerns, he admits. And to those who are already thinking of German reunification, Church Link writes: Reunification is possible only if you, too, have glasnost and perestroyka. In any case, there must not be any change in the ownership of production goods. They want a socialist GDR. There is certainly some significance in the fact that at the recent demonstrations the "Internationale" and not the "Song of Germany" was sung.

Electronic mail from the GDR also comes to inform friends in the FRG about demonstrations, events, and arrests. On 5 October, for instance, a brief message said that after the large demonstration, the events of the previous day would be discussed everywhere in schools, universities, and enterprises.

Another focal issue is information about environmental problems in the GDR. Thus, recently it was reported that a special enterprise for the production of radioactive elements would stop mining uranium near Aue after serious protests by the population because of the workers' heavy exposure to radiation.

The Postal Service and the State Security Service have not been able to discover the quick and clever computer operators with their IBM computer. The State Leadership has to acquaint itself with the idea that the flow of information between the two German states is now a two-way street—via Western television from the FRG to the GDR, and via the computer network also in the other direction.

Improvements for Army Conditions Outlined

LD1910173289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The service and living conditions in the GDR People's Army will be improved with the start of the new training year on 1 December 1989. As Lieutenant Colonel (Uwe Hempel) of the Defense Ministry announced to ADN, reworked regulations on barracks duty and leave will, thereby, come into force. Thus, soldiers performing either their basic or reserve service will be able to travel to the barracks in their own car or on their own motorcycles with their commanding officer's permission. It is also new that all sergeants, cadets, and officers will be allowed to wear civilian clothes while off duty outside the barracks and their storage in barracks accommodation will also be allowed.

The entitlement to recreation leave will be raised for a significant number of members of the Army or the entitlement to Saturdays off, Lt Col (Hempel) went on to say. Soldiers performing their basic service and corporals training to be sergeants will be granted leave at least 3 times during a 6-month period. To date, there was one recreation leave and an extended pass. Reservists will also receive more leave according to rank. Apart from this, the entitlement for members of the Army not resident in their garrison commands to extended passes and extra travelling time will also be raised.

Education Official Attacks 'Dogma' in Schools

LD2010091589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0427 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Helga Labs, the chairwoman of the teaching and Education Trade Union, is demanding a more effective implementation of trade union rights in the GDR in an interview which "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" publishes on Friday. The opportunity for this is offered by the discussion of the enterprise collective contracts currently beginning, which should be freed of meaningless preambles and general statements.

"It is precisely the current complicated situation which shows how important it is in educational questions not to divest young people of their responsibility for life in the children and youth organization, or in schools as a whole", Helga Labs said. "We must bring out more strongly the opinion of the pupils, not just put prejudices in front of them, which educates them to repeat dogma. We would like them to reach their own conclusions and correct insights by challenging them to put their opinion up for discussion. Of course we must reveal also and assess sound knowledge and ability. But we must guard against making premature judgements on a pupil. It is a matter of leading him towards the correct attitude in the course of his school time, of helping him to assimilate the Marxist-Leninist world view."

Free Youth Bureau To Convene 26-27 Oct

LD1910180289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1649 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The bureau of the Free German Youth [FDJ] Central Council has convened the 12th meeting of the Central Council of the youth organization for 26-27 October 1989.

First Secretary Eberhard Aurich has been commissioned to speak on the situation among the youth, on the FDJ's conclusions for the preparation of its 13th parliament and the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress and also on the youth organization's proposals to the SED Central Committee.

In particular, the suggestions and opinions should be taken into consideration which young people have expressed in recent weeks in letters to the Central Council and other FDJ management bodies, to JUNGE WELT, in talks and at forums, elections meetings and other events to further the activity of the youth organization.

Leaders' Public Appearances 12-18 Oct

AU2210153489

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 13 to 19 October reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Algerian Ambassador Abdelhamid Semichi for his first visit and Lao Ambassador Vongvichit and Afghan Ambassador Bakhtari for their farewell visits in Berlin on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 2)

Politburo member Hermann Axen attended a reception given by Spanish Ambassador Alonso Alvarez de Toledo

y Merry del Val on his country's National Day in Berlin on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 2)

Hermann Axen attended a festive event on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the socialist states in Berlin on 17 October. (18 Oct, p 1)

Politburo member Werner Eberlein attended the start-up of the first fully automatic waterworks in Colbitz, Wolmirstedt Kreis, on 13 October. (14-15 Oct, p 2)

Politburo member Guenter Mittag received Austrian Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel and Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, in Berlin on 16 October. (17 Oct, p 1)

Politburo Member Erich Mueckenberger gave a lecture at the "Karl Marx" Party College in Berlin on 12 October. (13 Oct, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger received a CPC delegation, headed by Fu Jie, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Discipline Inspection Comission at the CPC Central Committee in Berlin on 16 October. (17 Oct, p 2)

Politburo member Guenter Schabowski attended a discussion with working people in the Bergmann-Borsig State-Owned Enterprise in Berlin on 13 October. (14-15 Oct, p 3)

Guenter Schabowski met with the chairmen of the Berlin bezirk assocations of the friendly parties in Berlin on 16 October. (17 Oct, p 8)

Politburo candidate member Werner Walde attended the opening of the friendship meeting with SRV youth in Cottbus on 13 October. (14-15 Oct, p 2)

Nemeth Interviewed on Future, USSR, GDR

LD2110223389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] Miklos Nemeth has spoken to the West German paper DER SPIEGEL. Gyorgy Bernath reports from Bonn:

[Bernath] In the coming months, steps which are more significant than the ones to date can be expected on the path which leads toward parliamentary democracy, and in which the Hungarians will be able freely to decide on their own fate. However, it has to be recognized that the country's geopolitical situation, the relationship of the great powers, and the existence of the military blocs are an obstacle. Thus, the future scarcely depends only on what the Hungarian intentions are.

On the possible neutral status, the chairman of the Council of Ministers told the newspaper, which is published on Monday, that it will be roughly in 10, 15, or possibly only 20 years' time that we reach the point of the peoples being able to decide considerably more independently than at present, regarding themselves. However, at this time neutrality will mean something different from what it does now. It was perestroyka which provided a possibility for the Hungarian reforms to develop; if the processes in Moscow were to fail, it would not be good for the United States, and naturally, nor for Hungary, either. Yet the Hungarian reforms have crossed the threshold beyond which they cannot be reversed. However, it doubtlessly could cause us difficulty if the Soviet economic problems were to further deepen, and if a qualitative change was not successfully achieved in CEMA cooperation.

In connection with the Soviet military stationed in Hungary, the premier said that talks are underway on continuing the troop withdrawals which have already begun. From a Hungarian viewpoint there are neither political, nor military, nor other grounds for the Soviet troops to remain here. However, examining the issue in a European context, we cannot exert the influence we would like on their presence, said Miklos Nemeth.

He spoke with satisfaction about the direction of changes which have begun in the GDR. He explained that an explosion is not in anyone's interests, and that he, himself, is a believer in organic, peaceful, development.

HSP Disassociates From USSR's 1956 Intervention

LD2010195689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socalist Party [HSP] held a conference this morning to publish the HSP stance about national reconciliation and 23 October.

The HSP Presidium has finalized the original text, which was already debated by the congress delegates. The HSP Presidium proposes that 23 October should be a national day of rememberance that would remind us that every dictatorship distorts society and the personality of the people.

It warns us that using violence as a political means leads to national tragedies. At the same time the HSP disassociates itself from the Soviet military intervention of October and November of 1956; it opposes all forms of outside interference in the internal affairs of states.

In reply to questions, Csaba Vas and Ferenc Kosa said that in this question they did not coordinate with the Soviet Embassy because they believe this is an honest stance, which can be accepted by every European party. The moral strength of a democratic party is expressed in these words, [the moral strength] of a party, which considers human beings as the highest measure.

It was also said that the membership of those people who renew their membership within 6 months or who left the party because of the storms of the 6 months preceeding the congress, but now wish to joint the HSP, will be considered as continuous.

23 Oct Commemoration Celebrations Planned

Nemeth Calls for National Day

LD2010204389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1624 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth to the Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest on 20 October—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, fellow-countrymen. A nation, its history, its soul are expressed, among many other things, by its holidays, and also by the manner these are celebrated. It is also characterized by the manner in which a holiday becomes one, and even more by the extent to which a state declaration which ordains a holiday coincides with the will of the people. In other words, whether there is any context in people's memory in their spiritual and emotional world, in their historical awareness, for this red-letter day in the calendar.

23 October already figures in our people's memory as an indelible date. The National Assembly will now decide whether this day should be a holiday also recognised by the state. As for whether this day should at the same time be our national day, a referendum will decide, according to the government's proposal.

We can describe as peculiar the circumstance that it was near this day that the National Assembly adopted the new Constitutional Law of the Hungarian Republic, which declares our country a Republic, and which law comes into force on the day of its proclamation.

I announce to the esteemed National Assembly that the government is ready to create the conditions for 23 October to be the day when this law is proclaimed and thereby comes into force. All this makes it possible that 23 October should enter our national history and the list

of our holidays not merely as a day of national remembrance, but at the same time as the date of the proclamation of the Republic. [applause]

In this way, this holiday of ours could provide a framework for the memory of the people's uprising against the totalitarian regime of repression, and for the new democratic constitutional statehood, which comes into being as the spiritual legacy of this battle, and which is best symbolized by its appelation: Hungarian Republic.

Esteemed National Assembly, on behalf of the government I submit the proposal that on 23 October the president of the National Assembly, who from that day onwards will also perform the tasks deriving from the office of president of the Hungarian Republic, should proclaim the Hungarian Republic, from the balcony of Parliament House, or from its main stairway, with appropriate solemnity. Thank you. [prolonged applause]

Assembly Rejects Holiday Proposal

LD2010204889 Budapest MTI in English 1852 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Parliament has voted on the motion of MP Gabor Roszik, under which October 23 should be declared a national holiday. The MPs rejected the motion with great majority (200 votes against). In the following, although this issue belongs in the sphere of authority of the government, parliament voted on whether October 23 should be a red-letter holiday. Parliament did not agree with this proposal either: it voted 224 against and 38 for, and there were 29 abstentions.

Program Detailed

LD2010195889 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—The programme of commemorations on October 23 were detailed on Friday by members of the committee set up to organize the ceremonies, at a press conference in Budapest.

Tamas Deutsch (FIDESZ - Federation of Young Democrats) stressed they wish to commemorate the anniversary peacefully and with inner dignity. Mr Deutsch added that although they do not fear a provocation, they have a suitable organizing staff at their disposal so that no counter-actions disturb the commemoration.

With respect to the programmes in the capital on October 23, the committee intends that the events be held at the sites where they took place 33 years ago. The first venue is Corvin Alley, from where participants will progress to the Killian Barracks, and then to the building of Hungarian Radio.

Parallel to this, commemorations will also be held in front of the central building of the technical university, from where participants will progress to Bem Square. The third central venue will be Heroes' Square, where a wreath-laying ceremony will be held in memory of the victims of the tragic days of 1956.

Participants of the ceremonies from all venues will meet in front of Parliament at 6 p.m. on October 23.

Citizens Invited to Declaration

LD2110175189 Budapest MTI in English 1606 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—The Hungarian Parliament has issued the following invitation to the country's citizens:

"We should like to inform the people of Hungary that the official declaration of the Republic of Hungary will take place on Monday, October 23, 1989, in Kossuth Square, Budapest (in front of Parliament). We cordially extend this invitation to the ceremony to all Hungarian citizens and foreign guests...."

According to MTI's information, the ceremony will commence at 11.45 A.M.

The national flag will be raised in the square, and there will be a military parade as well. At midday, Mr Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian Parliament and acting president of the Republic, will declare the Republic of Hungary from the balcony of the parliament building.

The events to commemorate October 23 (the day marking the 1956 popular uprising) are being organised by a social committee set up specially for the occasion. Mr Szuros has proposed that memorial addresses also be given from the steps of parliament.

The various groups taking part in the commemoration are expected to arrive at the parliament building at 6:00 P.M. to attend the central ceremony.

Police and social activists will jointly ensure that there are no disturbances to mar the event.

Nemeth on Nation's 'New Beginning'

LD2210214289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 89

["The Week" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Tomorrow [23 October] we will not merely be remembering the 1956 popular uprising, but this day will also be the day when the Hungarian Republic is proclaimed. We now depart from tradition somewhat. We do not as a rule give politicians a one-man platform in "The Week" program. Now, however, in view of the significance of these two events tomorrow, we will do so. Your attention is requested for a few minutes by Miklos Nemeth, premier of the Republic.

[Begin Nemeth Recording] My esteemed compatriots! I speak to you after a great week and before a great day in our history. The week that is behind us both closed and opened an era in Hungarian history. The laws adopted by Hungarian Parliament give one the right and the

reason to make this qualification. The legislators have crowned the creation which has been prepared by our society's politically active forces, guided by the spirit of national progress, with hard work, struggling with themselves, each other, and the past.

This makes it possible for me to greet you now as the citizen of a Hungarian Republic that is to be proclaimed tomorrow. I hope most of you will receive my greeting in the intimate bosum of your families, in the family circle, which is the basic unit that determines everything in our homeland, which is the framework in which we live out our personal, community, and national destiny. This is also a source of the strength which this this people, at the moment when the force that pressed it to the ground begins to cool, immediatley wants to rise. The past has opened up, and the future has spread wide its doors. Let us look with courage in both directions.

We have suddenly come face to face with issues that for decades were qualified as nonexistent, and we have to wrestle with them. We have already overcome many of them, but quite a lot still tower before us. Let us wrestle with them, but let us believe and want that our struggle can be carried out peacefully, without bloody battles and sacrifices, not like 33 years ago. We can believe in this, because by now this is a different world, but we must also want it, because there are still many old wounds within us, and there is much of our old selves within us still.

Let us ennoble into value, and let us forge into strength, the heroic sacrifice of 33 years ago, which many were painfully forced to keep secret. Then a people, tragically crippled, its national self-respect insulted, robbed of its freedom in the name of freedom, rose up so that it might live according to its own laws. The pure intention erupted from deep down, and this eruption also brought impure deposits to the surface. Whoever saw or wanted to see, only the latter, was making a tragic mistake. A tragic error was committed by those who, after the crushed uprising, employed terror to cow the people, the people who wanted nothing other than to live as a Magyar, in a manner that befits a man.

By now we know that the embittered will of that time, which, in a manner hitherto unparalleled, defied the violent and bureaucratic system of Stalinism, which proclaimed salvation and resulted in hell, conquered in spite of its failure. It conquered because afterward there was no way back. Our people's life possibilities expanded and, although it took decades, we have arrived at the stage where we can begin something qualitatively different, different and [we can do so] differently.

The commemoration must also serve this new beginning, because 33 years ago on both sides of the barricade they thought they were fighting for the homeland. Every Magyar must heed the lesson of that time. The forces of Hungarian renewal must not end up on oppositive sides of the barricade. I and my government do not see either history or the present as a struggle of ideological currents or trends. We see people before us, with frailties and passions.

Tomorrow we remember Imre Nagy, his comrades in misfortune, and with them the many, many nameless heroes and victims of Hungarian freedom and progress, with reverence and feeling. But at the same time, looking back into our more distant past, we see with pain that we have terribly many losses: World War I, revolutions, and counterrevolutions, persecutions, enforced emigration, World War II, deportations, another emigration, the calvary of prisoners of war, the resettlements, the Rakosist terror, the barricades of 1956, the reprisals.

There are many defeats and there are many new beginnings. At nearly every new beginning we commit the same mistake: We want to wipe the previous era clean from the slate. Whereas we cannot do that because every era has left indelible marks on all of us Magyars. There has never been an era which bequeathed only the furrows of agonies, sufferings. Every era also raised heights that are worth retaining.

Now we do not have to fear that a foreign power will defeat us. It is not with others we must fight, but we must overcome ourselves. We must overcome our fears and our irresponsible recklessness, our mistrust and naivete, our hatred, our jealousy, our envy, the offshoots of our power contests.

Therefore, I say, let us with a common effort make an end of our bad traditions. Let us not allow the dark and wicked forces of violence and hatred to break through. Our hands now are not tied. Let us not raise them against ourselves, but let us build with them. We have set off in the direction of a world where, according to our will, everyone takes a place as equals at the table of the law, whence tyranny, fear, are banished, where there is real and total freedom, and the individual is restrained only by the freedom-right of others.

The civil society, which for decades was condemned to silence and forced into paralyzing submission, has moved. It has started to organize its scope of movement, which is necessary for it to maintain itself, and its institutions, which guarantee it stability, autonomy, resistance against extremes, immunity, and which provides it with a suitable possibility to have a say in shaping its destiny.

My esteemed compatriots! Europe and the world are again paying attention to Hungary. They highly appreciate our experiment at renewal and they are ready to support us also with deeds. So that we might be able to enter the family of politically and economically developed, self-aware, nations, we must take an examination in maturity and soberness. We must close an era in a civilized way and we must concentrate our energies on the tasks before us. This is our job, and this is our responsibility. Grasping the weight of this, I ask for the

self-sacrificing participation of you all in the enormous undertaking whose purpose is to uplift this homeland and ourselves.

Long live the Hungarian Republic, and let its citizens live freely and happily in it. [end recording]

Police To Be Unarmed

LD2310053389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] The country is preparing for a new festival and the commemoration of an anniversary. At noon tomorrow [1100 GMT] the Hungarian Republic will be proclaimed outside Parliament House, and there will be commemorations, along the routes of which, naturally, traffic restrictions will be imposed. The newspapers will give detailed information about these venues. Drivers are asked to avoid these areas, and that for a change they should take seriously the no-parking signs. The police will also assist those preparing for the dignified, peaceful celebration.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] The organizers of the 23 October Committee have asked us to cooperate.

[Reporter] With what equipment will the police go out into the streets?

[Unidentified speaker] Well, I could say they will go unarmed.

[Reporter] Completely unarmed?

[Unidentified speaker] Yes, since they will not carry anything, either pistols or rubber truncheons. In the case of traffic police, policemen will have traffic-direction batons, and they will be wearing arm bands.

[Reporter] If, heaven forbid, there is some breach of the peace, what is the situation?

[Unidentified speaker] Adequate reserves will be at our disposal who will help restore order at the request of the organizers.

[Reporter] Who are these reserves?

[Unidentified speaker] They are likewise policemen. They are located in police buildings. [end recording]

Nyers, Pozsgay Address Festive Political Rally

LD2110222889 Budapest MTI in English 2200 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—A political festival was held on Saturday in Szeged (SE Hungary) in support of the presidential candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party, being a canvassing rally at the same time. The rally was addressed by Rezso Nyers, president of the HSP and Imre Pozsgay, the party presidential candidate.

In his address Mr Nyers said:

"Hungary is a Republic, an independent, democratic constitutional state. Our Republic adopted a principle which points ahead in time to the next century, as its constitution. This constitution asserts the values of both the bourgheois democracy and the democratic socialism...The people should directly decide for themselves who they wish to see as the president of the Republic, and we will not yield on this issue.

Since the party congress took place, we have witnessed the great renewal of the socialist movement. We are still in the beginning of the process. This is not merely an issue of a party but that of the whole movement. From here on, the socialist movement will not be the privilege of a single party, but it will be the task of each party with a socialist manifesto to further this cause.

In expressing his support for Imre Pozsgay's candidacy as president, Mr Nyers said: He has the excellent capabilities of a statesman, and we know him to be an outstanding public figure, also on an international scale. He is an advocate and supporter of the international joining of forces. Mr Pozsgay is a politician, capable of rising above party policy interests and to carry out with clear-cut concepts the duties of president."

In his address, Mr Pozsgay said:

"This country and its people has always been able to accomplish by peaceful means its changes and revolutions, provided its was not subjected to outside pressure or the absence of sovereignity, we are now in possession of this capability in a free, democratic homeland. We also have the possibility—by way of showing civil discipline—to keep on the peaceful road those of our fellow citizens who might disagree with this and choose to create unrest."

Racs Addresses Rally on Anniversary Eve

LD2210211189 Budapest MTI in English 1920 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—"Everybody should now join hands in the interest of the nation and the people's future. The standard for judging people should not be their past or party affiliation, but their readiness and ability to work for the country and the future. The fact that Hungary will be a republic is highly important, but the tasks we are facing are also immense. To attain our aim of integrating into the single Europe, society has to be transformed to be suitable for the purpose," Sandor Racz, once chairman of the 1956 Budapest Central Workers' Council, stated at Szekesfehervar on Sunday.

Mr Racz addressed a rally organized on the eve of the 1956 popular uprising by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Federation of Young Democrats and the allied organizations. Participants unveiled a marble tablet dedicated to the martyred revolutionaries on the wall of the local Velence Hotel.

Opposition Rally Demands USSR Troop Withdrawal

LD2210224389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] In Debrecen the Opposition Roundtable held a ceremony. Istvan Palffy is on the line:

[Palffy] A good 500 people set off from outside the Kossuth University in the direction of the inner city, carrying torches and 1956 banners with the hammer and sickle cut out of the middle. Outside the building of the Replacement Center, from which incidentally the Red Star had been removed for today, the crowd, which had swelled to 1,000, demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Nothing disturbed the demonstration. Even the security police appeared in caps bearing national colour rosettes.

Outside the cathedral 2,000 people listened to the Opposition speakers, who remembered 1956 by saying that now, after a great Hungarian historical week, we can begin something else, something which is qualitatively akin to what was started 33 years ago with the People's Uprising.

In the end FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], in the token of national reconciliation, renounced its intention to hand over a petition at the Soviet Union's chief consulate. They will do this on 4 November instead: [day when Soviet troops reentered Hungary in 1956].

Further Reportage on National Assembly Session

Horvath Assembly Speech

LD2010143789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0805 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Speech by Hungarian Minister of Interior Istvan Horvath at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly: [passage omitted] In the course of the debate several contributors have recalled the prime minister's speeches and ideas at the September session and the present session of the National Assembly. He referred to the fact that the government has undertaken the important task of preparing the cardinal laws which are currently on the agenda and which include the regulations on the election of National Assembly deputies, and what follow these, the regulations on the election of the President of the Republic. He said the government will submit these to the National Assembly here. This task, he noted, is not seen by the government simply as implementing the agreement reached at the trilateral political coordination negotiations, but alternatively, the government serves, in accordance with its own responsiblity, the search for the road out of the socioeconomic crisis. In this way the government, in the framework of a peaceful transition, should open the way for the establishment of a democratic constitutional state based on a multiparty system and create the political and legal conditions for this.

Therefore, I ask the esteemed house to look at the proposal on this basis which, in my view, is acceptable and a compromise solution.

During this transitional period in which we live, it is the task, jointly and importantly, of both the government and the National Assembly to find rational compromises which we formulate jointly and which are acceptable for society as well. The National Roundtable- - or by its official name, the political coordination negotiations- - did not convene and come to an agreement in order to bypass the National Assembly, in my view, but because there are no crystalized political relations of forces in Hungary and under these circumstances the peaceful transition cannot be solved sufficiently by one single political force and the political institutions existing higherto.

It goes without saying that the esteemed deputies present here in the National Assembly will make a sovereign decision. They will decide freely and in accordance with their judgment. It would be a strange confusion of roles—althought I must say that to some extent a confusion of roles does exist—if I, on behalf of the government and as minister of the Interior, were to step in front of you, to incite you, including the majority of the contributors, to accepting—and I put this in quotes, but they exist in reality too—the proposals of the opposition.

Well, I would like to add two things here. One of them—and this has been voiced in the debate too—that the stance and approach of the EKA [Opposition Roundtable] is not obligatory for the parliament in terms of legality. This is so of course, this is true. However, this question, esteemed National Assembly, is not purely a legal question here and now. It is a political question and I must say that the opposition, the EKA may be liked, or may not be liked—I understand that there is no need for everyone to like it—but to take no notice of this agreement is impossible. He who does not take cognizance of it today should, I think, not be involved in politics.

Therefore, the stance of the political coordination negotiations, the agreement reached there, is not compulsory for the Parliament here but I ask you to take into account the situation which has created the National Roundtable and which has created the political coordination negotiations. We must face this situation and that is compulsory.

Well, I would add further to what has been said that neither the government's original proposal nor the one which has now been distributed together with the amendments which the [legal] committee also approved is the proposal of the opposition. It is the proposal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party—well, by now already the Hungarian Socialist Party—as well as EKA and the third side jointly and what is in front of you, on the other hand, is a solution worked out jointly taking into account their views which, is in my view, meaningful and acceptable and a compromise solution.

It is on these grounds that I think that really everything is permissible except—and about this quite a number of

people spoke in the debate yesterday. Dr Matyas Sinkovics put it most unambiguously—that the National Assembly supports the cardinal laws but it lifts out this draft election act from those laws. I do not say that the agreement [reached at the trilateral talks] is an unbreakable package but still it is a little bit like a domino game; if one block tumbles, all the others fall. Therefore, I ask you that when you vote please take these interrelations into account. [passage omitted]

Please, here almost everyone is aware that this draft bill is a whole put together politically, legally, and mathematically and it is possible to consider it only in terms of some of its elements. We must pay attention at the same time so that it's essence is not lost. On the basis of the debate, and I must tell you this here already, it appears that certain modifications of it are possible. [passage omitted]

Now, when we reach this clause 4, I would like to briefly outline three things, briefly. First, we must recognize the fact that in the basic principles it is the party principle which dominates and the proportional representation matching that. I have seen that no one views parties anymore and the existing fact of a multiparty system as a strange magic of another world. What's more, the National Assembly adopted the Party Act 2 days ago. This has made it clear that like everywhere else in modern societies, here too the political parties exist in order to embody and to formulate—in the language of politics—the interests of the various strata, groups, and smaller or larger circles of society; to protect, to criticize the existing state of affairs in this regard and for the change of the latter several political parties should exist as an initiating force.

If we, or rather, you accept this then I think that the view which was often voiced yesterday that we should represent the interests of the population and not those of the parties is not correct. [passage omitted] If we accept the multiparty system then from now on we cannot put these two in contradiction with one another. [passage omitted] In the future the terms gentlemen deputy and proletarian deputy will lose their meaning or there will be backbenchers who will be sweating and there will be party leaders—of these latter there will be more than there have been so far and there will be enormous competition between them—who will lean back in some kind of plush seat in a bubbly mood and sitting comfortably while others fight the political struggle.

Well, I would say that it is possible that these deputies sitting in the plush seat above the battlefield will sit idly if they are left to do so but they will not be allowed to. Their own parties won't let them. [passage omitted]

Second, the question of nationalities and churches has been raised here, and what's more, strongly. And I think it was deservedly so. I already mentioned in my keynote speech that it is obviously a very important question and one which no one who has to do with the decision can be indifferent about. The question of the nationalities and the churches must not be allowed to scuttle amid the current party battles. [passage omitted] I think that this is not only undesirable but would be impermissible in Hungary where we are so sensitive to this issue.

Now there are several solutions that have been raised here. One of these is to represent by parties on their lists [of candidates], in fact, on the top of their lists. [as heard] [passage omitted] The other solution is for nationality federations as social organizations—but effectively with rights as a political party—to field their own candidates, as will be done by the Patriotic People's Front as outlined by Istvan Huszar, or that there should be a second chamber where the representation of the churches and national minorities would be possible to solve. Then came Ferenc Juhasz's proposal welcomed by everyone which suggested raising the number of deputies by 12 in a cooption system. These 12 places would be allocated to the nationalities and church representatives.

On closer examination, however, this solution was proved unconstitutional. The Constitution lays down that all churches are equal. [passage omitted] Regarding the nationality federations, the Constitution lays down as a matter of principle—and the election act cannot contravene this—that elections must be direct in all representative bodies.

After such preceedings the only possibility open to us is to review the Standing Order of the House, and to modify it in such a way—this is completely possible from a legal point of view—to ensure the participation in the work of the National Assembly of the representatives of the nationalities and churches either in every session or only in those where the subjects debated are of obvious interest to them.

And finally, the third thing I would like to say in connection with the numbers in Clause 4. This contains the figures 152-152-70, whose contents I shall not (?repeat). [passage omitted] I believe that to measure things on a chemists' scale, whether it is 50-50 percent, 51-49 percent, or 60-40 percent, in the end will take us nowhere.

A possible compromise, which is conceivable in this matter, and which is also conceivable if we take into account the political, legal, and calculating systems, would be if the National Assembly raises the number of individual constituencies from 152 to 176, in a manner whereby the 152 on the county list remain unaffected, and the national list decreases to 58. Thus, in this manner, the 12 taken away from here, will be increased by another 12 which has been mentioned in another connection. Altogether that would make [words indistinct] the number of individual constituencies 176. Thus, in the end the entire size of the National Assembly would amount to 386 people. The government considers this correct, it considers this kind of modification to be acceptable. It is considered acceptable by the Opposition

Roundtable, and it is considered by the representatives of the third side, who are present outside Parliament. [as heard]

If the National Assembly is not able to accept this, in this manner, although that is what I recommend, in that event—I raise this as a distant, and uncertain, but otherwise realizable possibility—the National Assembly should adopt the entire submitted draft law, together with the distributed modifications, and Clause 4 should have an altered text that a separate law should make provisions concerning numbers related to the matter and role of individual constituencies, the county list and the national list. But I again say that I primarily support the former variant.

Esteemed National Assembly, with this I conclude my reasoning concerning the submitted proposals. [passage omitted]

Pozsgay Addresses Assembly

LD2010134889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0857 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Address by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay at a National Assembly session held in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly, dear fellow deputies. We are facing an important decision of great significance. Nobody can say that this state of affairs is one we wish for. Signs of dejection and despair may be observed in the esteemed house and among all of us who feel some kind of responsibility for what will happen today, or in the immediate future.

Arguments, counterarguments have been voiced here—you know the government's stand—I cannot supplement what I have to say with more such things. In any case, a further turn of rhetoric has already surfaced in Hungarian public life—the area which condemns rhetoric. We generally call somebody rhetorical whose arguments are sufficiently effective but with whom we disagree. Therefore I am now trying to avoid such turns and to give, at present, some information in order that we should be able to decide, in accordance with the spirit of this week's session, with joint responsibility.

First I would like to remind you that this draft Election Act has been brought to the National Assembly as a result of hard political struggles. I know that you have been able to learn this argument from the exposes of government representatives, but still something belongs here. Let us try to immerse ourselves in our approach in the spirit of the already adopted—adopted by us—Constitution, and to rethink again that as a result of particular political reasons and the special consequence of the crisis, parliament decides in such circumstances that its decision is made not only in accordance with the standing order of the house, but that other political forces too have asked for a share in this decision.

If the esteemed house accepts the government's proposal it will forge a united bond with those forces of peaceful transition which, regardless of party struggles—self-assessment being neither here nor there—can raise themselves above their party considerations and offer cooperation, with their signatures, in support of peaceful transition. I could also express this by saying that thinking in the spirit of this agreement, instead of the degradation of the esteemed house, will elevate it.

In accordance with the new draft election act, the next Parliament will be different from this one. [passage omitted] If in fundamental issues we change the draft act in its submitted form, and its basic principles, then the political agreement will collapse. This has already been voiced in the debate on the Constitution, but we must repeat it in this case, too. We can express our disapproval, but for days we have experienced the fact that our job is not to choose between good and bad; history has given us only one chance, one possibility—to choose the less bad. In this case, to choose not national chaos but national resurgence, together with a painful, and on occasion, a compromise-filled form which goes with it. [passage omitted]

Here in Hungary there is a multiparty political struggle, which can be expressed only in this election form. This is what I ask you to understand. [passage omitted elaborating] If the National Assembly does not accept this, the entire parliamentary legislative process comes to a halt, and on Monday, 23 October, reference will be made not to national reconciliation but to the fact that the party-state system continues, for we have been unable to rise above the endeavor, the idea, in the spirit of which we begin the legislative work here. [passage omitted]

Election Proposal Adopted

LD2010150289 Budapest MTI in English 1351 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—During its Friday session, parliament adopted the compromise proposal concerning the debated 4th paragraph of the bill on the election of MPs, which increased the available number of mandates in the individual constituences by 24, in part to the detriment of the national list and in part by raising the number of MPs by 12.

Under the decision, 176 MPs will be elected in individual and 152 in regional (county and metropolitan) districts. On the basis of aggregate nationwide voting, a further 58 compensational mandates may be filled on the national party lists. With its decision, parliament turned down the alternative that a separate law provide for the available number of mandates.

Following, parliament carried the bill on the election of MPs, together with the adopted amendments, with 286 votes in favour, 20 votes against and 24 abstentions.

MTI Details Election Law

LD2010164289 Budapest MTI in English 1503 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Under the law on the election of the president of the Republic, which was carried by parliament on Friday [20 October], presidential candidates may be nominated by electors and social organizations which meet the stipulations of the party law.

A recommendation verified by the signatures of 50,000 electors is required for nomination. Eligible candidates should receive more than 50 per cent of valid votes in the first round. A second round will be necessary if less than a third of electors go to the polls or if none of the candidates gain at least half of the valid votes. Candidates who obtain not less than 15 per cent of votes in the first round may run for the second round. The candidate with the largest number of votes will be elected president.

1956 Sufferers to be Rehabilitated

LD2010211589 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—After Parliament approved to disband, without a legal successor, the Workers' Militia, the next point on the agenda was the bill on remedying the sentenced related to the 1956 popular uprising. MP Mrs L. Horvath moved that Parliament jointly discuss this with the parliamentary draft resolution on remedying the grievances of interned and forcibly re-settled persons, as the two are connected in content. Parliament agreed with the motion.

In his submittal, Gyula Borics, secretary of state at the Ministry of Justice, noted that the political practice of the past decades, and the disregard of the civic rights was accompanied by tragic results. The despotism of the party that exercised autocracy defamed hundreds of thousands of people, robbing them of their freedom and livelihood. The time has come, and in many cases it is already too late, to give these people back their honour before the nation, Mr Borics said.

The re-examination of the cases, the individual rehabilitation of the victims is practically unrealizable, as this would paralyze the activity of the courts for years. The state secretary also discussed the issue of financial compensation, about which the bill does not decree. Although it is painful, we should openly face the fact that the country's load-bearing capability does not make it possible to provide full financial reparation, Mr Borics stressed.

Parliament approved the bill on the rehabilitation of people condemned in connection with the popular uprising in 1956 with 278 votes for, 4 against and 28 abstentions.

Parliament approved the draft resolution on the indemnification of the people interned or forcefully re-settled, with 287 votes for, 2 against and 13 abstention. It also approved, with 289 votes for, 3 against and 12 abstentions, the resolution on the rehabilitation of the people interned and forcefully re-settled.

Personnel Issues Decided, Concludes

LD2010211389 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—At the end of its session on Friday [20 October] Parliament decided on personnel issues. Approving the proposal of the minister of the interior, it elected the five-member National Election Committee, and Dr Pal Kara its secretary.

The MP'S decided to authorize Istvan Fodor, deputy speaker of Parliament, to fulfil the tasks of speaker of Parliament as long as the current speaker, Matyas Szuros, sees to the tasks arising from the function of president of the Republic.

Parliament ended its session a few minutes before 7 p.m. on Friday. Matyas Szuros announced that the next session will begin on Monday, October 30.

Proposed Disbanding of Workers' Militia Reported

Workers' Militia Statement

LD1710191789 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 17 (MTI)—"Both disappointment and understanding can be experinced among the members of the Workers' Militia", Mr Lajos Borzak, spokesman of the militia told MTI after the government decision to propose to parliament the disbanding of the Workers' Militia. The spokesman added that the reaction of the membership is natural, since they form a unified community, that they do not wish to part with. It is up to history to verify the correctness or the mistake of this move. Mr Borzak continued by stressing that the militiamen were law abiding people for the past 32 years, and each citizen can rest assured that the militiamen will obey whatever decision is reached by the parliament. Their attitude towards it is a separate issue however.

The spokesman also spoke about his conviction that if parlament enacts the bill presented by the minister of defence, many of the militiamen will join the voluntary service in the Territorial Defence Force, although many are expected to retire altogether. In answer to a question as to where the weapons of the militia are stored, Mr Borzak said that they are centrally stored, safeguarded by a reinforced sentry-duty.

Mr Borzak also reported that since its establishement, the militia received 12,000 million forints central subsidy, and its current assests are registered at 11,000 million forints, indicating that in the past 32 years it

spent only 1,000 million forints. This is explained by the fact that several million forints worth of social work was contributed by the militia, which also took part in the construction of each of their facilities. In conclusion the spokesman spoke about the utilisation of the 91 estates of the militia, and the related government decision due to be taken by the end of the year.

Assembly Disbands Militia

LD2010163489 Budapest MTI in English 1502 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—In Budapest on Friday [20 October] the Hungarian National Assembly passed a law on disbanding the Workers' militia without legal successor.

The bill was carried with 374 votes in favour, 6 votes against and 31 abstentions.

Nemeth Addresses Workers' Guard

LD2110210889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpts] The Workers' Guard has held, probably and hopefully, their last commanding meeting, where our colleague, Laszlo Gardai, was also present.

[Gardai] Miklos Nemeth, president of the Hungarian Republic [title as heard] greeted the participants of the last Workers' Guard commanding meeting. Naturally, first he talked about the reasons for disbanding the organization.

[Begin Nemeth recording] The Worker's Guard, as an armed body, do not fit into the state system, the cardinal laws of which were adopted by the National Assembly the other day. This regime is a parliamentarian Republic, a parliamentarian democracy built on the principle of a multi-party system, a constitutional state built on the logic of power sharing. [end recording]

[Gardai] In his speech, Miklos Nemeth also touched upon the accusations, according to which the left wing has given up its position and betrayed the people. The left wing wants to fight this battle not with administrative means now, said Miklos Nemeth, but in a new circumstance, when every single organization and person fights freely for the confidence of the people.

In his farewell to the Workers' Guard, Miklos Nemeth praised the hitherto activity of the organization, then asked the question for himself, why then should this organization be disbanded.

[Begin Nemeth recording] In this regime, stability of governing comes across differently, since it is more than probable that, regarding the political power relations, complete or partial government reshuffles will take place much more often than in the past. In order that these changes should not endanger the stability of the country, that they should not lead to anarchy and chaos and that they should not open up a path toward a dictatorial exercise of power, it is necessary that certain national institutions should operate continuously, independently from the political struggle, and that they should serve the interest of the entire nation. The Armed Forces are among these: the Army and the police. If we allow these institutions to become the battleground, or by chance, the means of political struggle, it could lead to a national tragedy.

The Worker's Guard has never denied, what is more, it has proclaimed proudly, that it is a political body. If we accept—and accept it we must, since it ensues from the logic of the constitutional legal state—that no armed body with a political tint should operate, then the transformation of the Workers' Guard into a body free of politics would be a bad compromise, which would satisfy neither the Workers' Guards, nor public opinion. [end recording]

[Gardai] This decision of the National Assembly came into force on the day of its announcement. I have also heard that transferring of weapons to the Army has already begun.

[Begin Nemeth recording] I would like to put the minds of the people at rest. However, realization of such a decision does not take place from 1 minute to the other, it takes long weeks. So in correspondence with this, every weapon is under proper supervision and there is not a single weapon in unwarranted hands. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Gardai] In connection with the liquidation, a state commissioner was appointed. What will be his task?

[Unidentified speaker] Well, here, we are talking about an asset in the value of 11 billion [forints], and we would not like to waste a penny of this. Thus, his task is the financial, technical arrangement, and direction of this work.

[Gardai] How long will this take, is it possible to tell?

[Speaker] The Council of Ministers asked from the National Assembly until 31 December to carry out these tasks. I believe that we shall complete them before then. [passage omitted]

[Budapest MTI in English at 1923 GMT on 21 October adds the following to Nemeth's remarks on the political struggle of the left: "In this connection, Mr Nemeth went on to say that it was undeniable that the ideology of the right was present in today's rather confused political arena, and that it was demanding a capitalist restoration and a return to pre-war conditions. This concept is opposed not only by the Socialists, but also by the majority of the country's population as well, but the methods of political struggle, rather than force or prohibition, are being applied."]

Socialist Party Enrollment Deadline Extended

LD2110162589 Budapest MTI in English 1549 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Members of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party now have until the end of the year to confirm their membership in the newly-founded Hungarian Socialist Party. [HSP]

This follows a call from the HSP's membership to extend the original deadline of October 31.

Social Organizations' Real Estate Reviewed

LD1610204489 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 16, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—From 1968, the Hungarian budget spent 47.4 billion forints (790 million USD at current rates) on support to cover the operation, maintenance and investment costs of social organizations. 38.7 billion forints went on operation and maintenance costs, and 8.7 billion to investments. From 1974, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the ruling party since 1956, and the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (Kisz), the HSWP's youth organization, were allocated 22.6 billion forints, a Ministry of Finance report to be submitted to the October session of parliament reveals.

The former HSWP—transformed into the Hungarian Socialist Party at its congress in early October—does not possess any real estate at all, but it is the sole user of 1,166 buildings, and shares occupany rights of a further 1,475 buildings with other organizations. The gross value of these buildings is 7.6 billion forints. Kisz, which ceased to exist in spring, 1989, and the still-existing young pioneer organization, use and own 65 buildings to a gross value of 1.7 billion forints.

The Patriotic People's Front, an organization which has been rallying non-party people to the HSWP for the past few decades, is the user and owner of 57 buildings, which have a value of 303.8 million forints.

The National Association of Hungarian Journalists has the rights of use to, or owns, 12 buildings, to a gross value of 128.6 million forints.

The Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society is the user of building and possesses another, the two of which total 2.9 million forints gross.

The Hungarian Red Cross possesses and uses 31 buildings. These were worth 17 million forints gross at the end of last year, and are currently worth 49.2 million forints.

The National Council of Trade Unions uses 39 buildings. The NCTU has not disclosed the amount of its real estate, since, as it stated, these estates come from trade union membership fees. The gross value of buildings used by the nctu, according to their own figures, amounts to 339.6 million forints.

Preliminary Ministry of Finance information reveals that these figures are not complete, and the opposition is demanding that a full account of the above real estate be given.

Second Group of GDR Refugees Leaves Warsaw

LD1910203989 Hamburg DPA in German 1857 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—A group of 135 refugees from the GDR left Warsaw for Duesseldorf this evening on a charter flight. It was the second plane load of refugees from Poland to the FRG. The GDR citizens received their exit documents from the GDR Embassy in Warsaw yesterday and today. The next plane load of refugees will leave Poland for the Federal Republic tomorrow.

Under a new emigration ruling agreed between Poland, the GDR, and the FRG around 260 refugees have left Poland since the beginning of the week. Another 1,750 or so GDR citizens are still in the care of the FRG Embassy in Warsaw at present.

Further Reportage on Mazowiecki, Others in Rome

Mazowiecki Interview

PM1910105689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 18 Oct 89 p 11

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Andrea Tarquini; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[Passage omitted] [Tarquini] Mr Premier, what is the significance of your visit?

[Mazowiecki] I chose Italy, and especially Rome—and I stress again that it would be dishonest of me to say otherwise—because of the pope's importance and personality. I thought that my first visit should be to the pope, and it was an deliberate choice based on his enormous moral significance, especially in Poland, and in the world in general.

[Tarquini] So is the Italian-Polish summit subordinate?

[Mazowiecki] No, this is at the same time an official visit to Italy—a country with which we maintain very important economic relations, which we will discuss in depth in the days ahead. We also have significant cultural relations with your country, not to mention the importance of Italy's foreign policy within the European context and that of the East-West dialogue. I believe that my visit can prove fruitful thanks to this combination of factors.

[Tarquini] You and your government are asking the West for specific kinds of backing. What record can you present of your first month in power? What successes, what failures, and how much strength as head of the first government now headed by a noncommunist?

[Mazowiecki] It is difficult for me now to say what my failures have been and it is not for me to point to them first. I can talk about the difficulties of a situation marked by the expectation of rapid concrete results in all fields. It is not easy to satisfy society's impatience, but it is no less difficult, after 40 years of a certain system, to stimulate and release society's energies, spirit of initiative, and economic resources and potential. So these are the basic problems. Of couse I did not expect to resolve decades-old problems in a month, but if I have to identify difficulties and challenges, I see them in this field.

[Tarquini] You are the first noncommunist to head a coalition for the reform of a Warsaw Pact country. Do you still consider this a possible undertaking?

[Mazowiecki] I am aware of taking part in a great historical event, but I am more aware every day of how difficult it is to succeed.

[Tarquini] Your critics—especially within Solidarity—complain of the public's passiveness with respect to your government, which they compare to the enthusiasm of 1980, when Solidarity was born. Do you not risk the country's lack of confidence in your reforms?

[Mazowiecki] People's passiveness, their difficulty in feeling involved in the changes, do constitute a problem. But it is always easier to destroy than to build, to oppose something than to create new kinds of participation. This is a problem not only for the government but for all the country's political forces. Above all, it is a problem for the birth of economic initiative in all fields. We want to restore the market economy: Hitherto insufficient spirit of economic enterprise was shown, because the fundamental conditions and guarantees for its exercise were lacking; but stimulating it remains a huge problem.

[Tarquini] You are promising your country, and the West, that you will restore a market economy. But for many Poles the transition will entail enormous sacrifices...

[Mazowiecki] Even in a market economy social values—the protection of the weak—can be guaranteed. Our options are either to build them in an economy returning to development, or to defend them within the context of a state-controlled economy, the failure of which leaves the sole alternative of a return to the market. Of course many contradictions that the old sociopolitical structure concealed for decades will explode. We will pay attention to the values of social justice within the context of a free market economy. A risky endeavor? We know this, but all previous attempts to resolve this system's crisis have failed.

[Tarquini] Is the reform not being attempted too late, after 40 years of socialism?

[Mazowiecki] Of course this is precisely our dilemma: Should we attempt yet another reform of the existing system after so many failed attempts, or embark on a radical change? So far we lack concrete results, and we still face the twofold task of recreating a free market and combating the excessive inflation.

[Tarquini] You govern alongside General Kiszczak—the man who had you arrested in December 1981—and other communist ministers. How is the "cohabitation" with your former enemies working?

[Mazowiecki] The government is based on a broad coalition and each of its ministers faces the same difficulties in connection with every specific problem to be tackled. At present cooperation is working well. Of course we face two major problems.

[Tarquini] What are they, Mr Premier?

[Tarquini] The most important thing is to build a coalition strengthened by the genuine support of all the country's political forces in order to rebuild the institutions and surmount the economic crisis. A healthy economic foundation is essential to reform, and from this viewpoint too I believe that successful cooperation between the government parties is the most important factor. Second, the reform of the Interior and Defense Ministries.

[Tarquini] The Interior and Defense Ministries are the crucial posts held by the Communist Party. How is it possible to reform what were for 40 years the single party's key instruments?

[Mazowiecki] I discussed this very issue at a recent meeting with the Defense Ministry's Military Council and with Interior Ministry officials. I talked about the need to believe in the state as a national entity and not as the property of a single party, and I believe we are on the right road to depoliticizing these institutions. The transformation has already begun in the Army and the police force.

[Tarquini] Does the challenge from the communist hardliners not come also from the official trade unions led by orthodox leader Alfred Miodowicz? Are you not afraid that they will unleash a tide of strikes against your government?

[Mazowiecki] The law requires us always to consult with the trade unions, all the trade unions, on all decisions affecting workers' living standards. For all trade unions inflation, which devours the workers' incomes, is a specific problem and could cause any trade union leader to distance himself from the program of changes—as difficult and painful as they are necessary to the country. We have specific proposals for them—that they understand the need and costs of the struggle against the excessive inflation and that they help us to prepare the many people who will lose their jobs for new employment and to find them new jobs. We are ready to negotiate and to respect the natural divergence of viewpoints between a trade union and a government, but we would like our ideas and theirs on change to be close. It is easy to attack the government demagogically; the difficult thing is to resolve the real economic problems.

[Tarquini] Poland and Hungary are attempting the path of a gradual emergence from the system; but are they not risking isolation?

[Mazowiecki] We regard the changes under way in Hungary sympathetically, and I believe that they regard us sympathetically. There is no special model for cooperation between us and them, but I do not believe we risk isolation: We are all moving in the direction characterized by Soviet perestroyka.

[Tarquini] Precisely: Other East European governments—consider East Berlin and Prague—oppose perestroyka...

[Mazowiecki] I believe perestroyka is not an arbitrary option but a response to certain needs of the USSR and of what used to be the Eastern bloc; and I believe that many countries in this part of the world will take the path of democratic reform. [passage omitted]

19 Oct Luncheon Toast

LD2010025789 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Rome, Oct. 19—In a toast delivered by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a luncheon given by Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti on the occasion of Mazowiecki's Italian visit, the Polish prime minister said, among other things:

"The choice of Rome for starting our international contacts is not incidental. Poland and Italy are states which, I am confident, can co-create the future unity of Europe to a significant extent."

The prime minister stressed that Poland preserved her own position in the existing system of alliances but at the same time it could actively break the hitherto stereotypes in the political life of the continent. "We would like to give, together with Italy, a new impulse to the building of the European unity," he added.

"Our country is now going through major internal changes," the prime minister continued. "At the same time we try to carry out a democratic restructuring of the state and get the economy out of collapse. We expect that at this breakthrough-prone but extremely difficult moment Europe will not leave us alone. We are very glad to see Italy meeting Poland halfway because this goes far beyond the frame of bilateral relations. The promise to restore government credit guarantees was particularly important for us," he said.

Addressing Prime Minister Andreotti, to whom he passed words of respect and greetings for the Italian people, Mazowiecki said: "We thank all our friends in Italy for their not forgetting Poland at moments difficult for us, for not forgetting 'Solidarnosc,' and for their trust that the Poles would find their way to solve their difficult matters in dialogue. That it happened so, is the work of all the basic social and political forces in Poland," he said.

Meeting With Cossiga, Andreotti

LD2010025189 Warsaw PAP in English
0036 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Rome, Oct. 19—Today, the highlights of the Italian visit by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the Polish governmental delegation were meetings and talks with Italian President Francesco Cossiga, Premier Guilio Andreotti, heads of the two chambers of the Italian Parliament Giovanni Spadolini and Nilde Jotti as well as meetings with leading industrialists of this country.

The Polish delegation started the day with the laying of wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the foot of the monument "Homeland's Altar".

Visit to Quirinal

At the presidential palace the Polish prime minister was welcomed by President Cossiga. The talks followed. They were attended by Ministers Jacek Ambroziak, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Artur Balazs, Maciej Swiecicki and other officials. On the Italian side present was Foreign Ministry's Undersecretary of State Senator Caludio Vitalone.

Expressing his friendly feelings towards Poland, the Italian president stressed that Italy had always placed much trust in Poland, which was reflected by Wojciech Jeruzelski's reception in Italy at times when Europe abstained from judging the [word indistinct] Polish president.

Meanwhile it turned out that this credit of confidence given to General Jaruzelski was fully justified. The fact that Poland has entered a peaceful road of transformations is of great importance for relations between the East and West, the Italian president said.

I will support with all my authority everything that can be done for Poland, both on the bilateral and multilateral planes, Cossiga declared.

Thanking the president for his words and declarations, Mazowiecki said with a smile that he intended to familiarize the president with the Polish problems but he saw that the head of the Italian state knew them well and showed deep understanding for Polish circumstances.

Mazowiecki recalled that Poland had chosen an evolutionary road of transformations as any other road would be a tragedy for Poles and for Europe. He said that Poland wanted to reach a situation similar to that in Italy where governments' changes do not cause sharp political shocks and added that the shock Poland experienced had a curing effect.

Mazowiecki said that the Polish Government was going to honour its commitments as an ally and stated he was glad he became a prime minister at a time when differences weakened between opposite blocs in Europe and in the world and they came closer to each other. In fact, Poland has never accepted the division of Europe. If she did, she would not be herself, he said.

He also voiced his satisfaction over the fact that the Soviet leadership had received with understanding the changes in Poland. It is important for me, he stressed, that the Soviet Union recognize the fact that different political forces, and not only the communist party, can guarantee the Polish-Soviet alliance.

Talks with Jotti, Spadolini

In the talk with the Polish prime minister, Nilde Jotti said that as the head of a chamber, she would support an appropriate law on mutual investments, to be ratified by the Italian Parliament, and all Italian initiatives in favour of assistance for Poland.

Similar declarations of acting in favour of Poland, also in Parliament, were made by Senate Speaker Giovanni Spadolini. Referring to his concept called the "small Marshall Plan" for Poland he stressed that Italy and the whole of Western Europe should oblige themselves to provide Poland with significant assistance, regardless of a rather modest contribution given by the United States.

The Polish prime minister said he counted on Italy's help in expanding relations between Poland and international financial organizations and recalled that thanks to Italy's support, Poland signed an agreement with the EC.

Mazowiecki-Andreotti

A three-hour meeting of Prime Ministers Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Giulio Andreotti included plenary talks, a luncheon with toasts delivered by the two premiers, and a 15-minute fact-to-face talk. The meeting passed in a matter-of-fact and very cordial atmosphere.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki invited Giulio Andreotti to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

All political forces deserve the credit for the Polish evolution, Mazowiecki said. Solidarity was a driving force but all other forces had their share in this process.

Poland by no means wants to threaten Europe's stability. On the contrary, she wants to contribute to its preservation. Economic questions can be the only danger to Poland's stabilizing role in Europe. That is why Europe's assistance to Poland is so important, he said.

Mazowiecki voiced hope that numerous declarations made in the world on assistance to Poland would be carried into effect.

In response Andreotti said he understood very well that stance. Italy also benefited from the Marshall Plan after the war and without that assistance my country would never recover, he said.

Italy plans to grant to Poland up to 400-million dollar government-guaranteed investment loans and to open a credit line. There are also plans to give funds for the

expansion of Polish-Italian joint ventures and to help train managers. The credit line can be opened after Poland signs an agreement with the IMF, with the Italian side doing its best to speed it up, Andreotti said.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki thanked for the credit guarantees and food aid.

Meeting With Leading Italian Industrialists

A meeting of Premier Mazowiecki with leading representatives of the Italian world of industry was of particular significance in the context of practical questions linked with the expansion of economic cooperation. The meeting was organized by the influential Italian organization "confindustria".

After the Polish visitors had been welcomed by Vice-President of the "confindustria" Luigi Abette, the Polish prime minister encouraged representatives of small and medium-size enterprises to form joint ventures with similar firms in Poland. He named concrete decisions and laws that facilitate such process and stressed that Poland's economy and market were open to joint undertakings of different types.

Ruggiero-Swiecicki

On the same day, foreign trade ministers of Poland and Italy Marcin Swiecicki and Renato Ruggiero held talks on a concept of making practical use of the Italian government-proposed programs of assistance to Poland.

Minister Ruggiero said that Italy planned to lift all restrictions on Polish imports to the Italian market as of next year, that is some 800, leaving only two restrictions binding in the EC on textiles and metallurgical products.

He also suggested that another session of the Polish-Italian mixed economic commission, planned to take place in Rome, be held in Warsaw with the participation of representatives of small- and medium-size industry.

Mazowiecki-De Michelis

Cooperation with the Polish Government in overcoming the current difficult economic situation was the topic of talks held tonight by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and other members of the Polish delegation with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

De Michelis spoke about his recent efforts made in the international forum, and in the United States and the FRG in particular, concerning assistance to Poland.

Mazowiecki-ENI, IRI, Fiat

Prime Minister Mazowiecki also talked with chairmen of the biggest industrial groups: Professor Franco Reviglio of ENI [National Hydocarbons Authority], Professor Romano Prodi of IRI [Institute for Industrial Reconstruction] and Managing Director Cesare Romiti of the Fiat Group.

The sides exchanged views on possibilities for the Italian side to engage itself in serious undertakings connected with the expansion of the petrochemical, power and mining industries in Poland. They also discussed the legal and organizational conditions for setting up foreign banks in Poland.

In a talk with the Fiat representative, the sides touched upon some questions of further cooperation.

Private Audience With Pope

LD2010165589 Warsaw PAP in English 1510 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Vatican City, Oct. 20—Prime Minister Tadeusz, Mazowiecki, now on a visit to Italy, was today received in a private audience by Pope John Paul 2nd.

According to Vatican's spokesman, Mazowiecki thanked the Polish-born pope for his support in the recent difficult years to the process which eventually led to the formation of the present Polish Government.

Let us hope we will not retreat, the pope was reported to have answered. He termed his meeting with the Polish premier as historic.

Further on Talks With Pope

LD2110012789 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—"I am under a great impression after a meeting with the holy father," Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in an interview for PAP today.

"For me it was the most important moment of the visit. Anyway, when we were left alone, in the first words we uttered we told each other than there was something unusual about the fact that we, as believers, can meet performing our functions. In this we could see providence. And we think that this care for Poland will continue," Mazowiecki stated.

"The holy father displayed a great interest in Polish affairs and understanding of our difficult situation, especially the situation of people, the need to stand current difficulties in order to proceed to a better situation as well as understanding of all who have contributed to political changes in Poland."

"I told the holy father that we owe him a lot for all he had done for Poland, particularly in recent years, for what he had done to support us in the struggle for human rights and in settling Polish issues by means of dialogue and agreement, with peaceful methods," Mazowiecki continued.

"In reply John Paul II said in public—in the company of other ministers—that he can say with no doubt that he had not been one- sided in those strivings but he had supported all these values and this procedure of settling issues because of the deepest Christian values underlying them."

Asked to initially, even shortly, sum up the to-date course of the visit, the premier said: "talks with President Francesco Cossiga, Premier Giulio Andreotti and Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis were very significant. I am of the opinion that one can state that Italian politicians well understand the fact that, facing an immense number of European declarations of aid for Poland, Europe should now proceed from words to action, and they are ready to help us in this.

Talks, Press Conference Reported

LD2110011189 Warsaw PAP in English
2230 GMT 20 Oct 89

[By Correspondents Miroslaw Ikonowicz and Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, Oct. 20—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and entire Polish Government delegation were received by Pope John Paul II in a private audience this morning.

Mazowiecki stressed that he would go exactly to Rome on his first foreign trip as head of government to primarily thank holy father for his great moral support for Polish changes and to gain his advice for difficult road that is still ahead of Poland.

John Paul II appeared in the door of his private library at 11.00 A.M. sharp and cordialy welcomed the first Catholic head of Polish Government after World War II. Their talks without witnesses lasted for over 20 minutes. Next, the entire Polish Government delegation was invited to the library. After brief talks with all members of the delegation and the exchange of gifts, the pope met all representatives of the managements of some ministries and experts, accompanying the delegation, employees of the Polish Embassy at the Holy See and Polish and Italian journalists.

When Tadeusz Mazowiecki referred to Polish changes, stressing that Poland tried to achieve them through understanding and dialogue, as exactly holy father advised Poland to do, John Paul II answered: "Anyway, I have no remorse that I was one-sided in this activity."

The pope devoted almost an hour for the Polish delegation. After the audience, Premier Mazowiecki called on Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli. He also went to see St. Peter's Basilica to lay flowers and to pray at the saint's tomb. He called on Polish Cardinal Andrzej Maria Deskur at the end of his visit to the Vatican.

Spokesman for the Vatican J. Navarro-Valls made a statement in which he termed the visit as very cordial and long and reported that the pope had said: I consider this audience as a historical and positive fact. For me it is historical not only because of patriotic reasons but it is connected with my mission and also with the historical evolution of the world. All in all, the Pope devoted the whole delegation almost an hour and bid farewell to it. saying: God speed you.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewskis called on Vatican secretary of state, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli and Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno. The talks focused on further development of contacts between Poland and the Holy See and on some issues which should be settled in official relations. Casaroli expressed hope that Poland would overcome the crisis. On his part, Skubiszewski thanked for the activity of the Holy See which often had helped Poland at the international forum.

Taduesz Mazowiecki, who, as it is stressed here, is the pope's friend, was invited to dinner by John Paul II.

Before their visit to the Vatican the premier and members of the delegation met with a group of Polish priests from the Roman Curia among whom were newly appointed Papal Nuncios Archbishop Jozef Kawalczyk (in Poland) and Archbishop Janusz Bolonek (at the Ivory Coast).

The meeting was also attended by representatives of Poland's Episcopate Wroclaw metropolitan, Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz, Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski and Bishop of the Szczecin-Kamien Diocese Kazimierz Majdanski.

Mazowiecki's Press Conference

Over 200 Italian and foreign newsmen attended a press conference by the Polish premier at the Excelsior Hotel here this afternoon.

Summing up the meetings with Italy's President Francesco Cossiga, Premier Giulio Andreotti, Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis and other outstanding Italian politicians, Mazowiecki stated he had met with full understanding. First of all, he was glad with the fact that they were the ones who suited the action to the word.

Mazowiecki said that he was very satisfied with all the meetings. Italians, in general, and Italian politicians, in particular, understand that it is time Europe proceeded from words to action in relation to us, Mazowiecki stated.

The visit to Rome is also a trip to the pope whose great moral authority and assistance was of such immense importance for us in the hard times, Mazowiecki told newsmen.

In reply to the question why his first trip in the capacity of prime minister was that to Rome Mazowiecki answered that it was a return to the roots of Christian and European values which were dear to Poles.

Asked about the attitude of the new Polish Government towards the Soviet Union, the premier said: "In my opinion an important long- awaited moment has come in Polish-Soviet relations at which understanding for the issues of alliance and cooperation may get the support of a real social base."

"Moreover, we have many problems to discuss which are related to the issues of the so-called blank spots in the

history of Polish- Russian relations, problems of economic cooperation. We are interested in improvement of our economic situation not only in relations with the West but also with the East. That is why in my view this moment is very important and I attach great importance to my visit to Moscow. I have already had the first contacts with members of the Soviet leadership. In the coming days we expect Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Warsaw," Mazowiecki said.

Asked to comment on the resignation of Erich Honecker, the Polish premier said that this was the internal issue of the Polish neighbour. However, in general, he was of the opinion that the ongoing changes and the movement were natural and had a chance to lead towards democratic transformations.

In reply to the question whether the Polish Government would acept the reunification of Germany on the basis of free elections Mazowiecki pointed to the very complicated character of the problem related to the division of Europe. In my opinion the problem can be truly solved only by means of an evolution taking into account of the whole situation existing between both parts of Europe, he added.

Mazowiecki was also asked about the possibility of establishing relations with Israel, the attitude towards Palestinians. He answered that relations had been broken with various countries and there were many issues to settle in this respect. As for relations with Israel, it is also an important moral problem for Poland. As regards Palestinians and Jews, they cannot move to the moon and must co-exist, he said. The premier pointed to the fact that Poland has relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization whose representative is present in Warsaw.

Asked whether he would receive Aleksander Dubcek, like Hungary intends to do, Mazowiecki answered: If he comes to Poland, I would be eager to receive him.

Further Activities Noted

LD2110225789 Warsaw PAP in English 2224 GMT 21 Oct 89

[By PAP's Miroslaw Ikonowicz and Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, Oct. 21—On the last day of his visit to Rome, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met at the Polish Embassy here today with Poles living in Italy. He also held talks with representatives of three biggest Italian trade union organizations.

Meeting with Polonia

For the first time since World War II, so many older and younger representatives of Polish emigration circles and a number of priests working for various Polish church institutions met together as guests of the Polish embassy. Among those invited there were ex-servicemen of the 2nd Polish Corps, participants of the Monte Cassino battle, representatives of the Polish Refugees Committee in Rome led by Krzysztof Kwnclerz and members of the Rome-based Solidarity led by Tadzusz Konopka.

While addressing the meeting, the premier said that the government would like to bring about real breakthrough in the relations between Poland and Polish emigree circles. He added that his government counts on Polonia's help in supplying Poland with new technologies and particularly modern methods of management.

He also expressed a wish that relations between the homeland and the latest wave of emigration be free from hostility and marked by understanding for various motivations that stood behind decisions to leave the country and stay abroad.

Meeting With Union Leaders

On the same day Prime Minister Mazowiecki received in the lounge of the Grand Hotel where he stayed in rome leaders of three largest Italian trade unions: Bruno Trentin of CGIL, Franco Marini of CISL, and Giorgio Benvenuto of UIL. He thanked his guests for previous cooperation and, first of all, for the help extended to Solidarity when it was in difficult situation.

The Italian unionists have said that from their side they could see two directions of activities to help Poland: Giving support directly to Solidarity as a trade union and pressing on the Italian Government to be quick and timely in its economic assistance for Poland and also widening of the Polish-Italian cooperation.

They added they would try to cooperate with the association of Italian industrialists and their influential organisation Confindustria in the field of developing cooperation among small and medium-sized enterprises in both countries.

Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski who was also taking part in the meeting, told Italian trade unionists that reaching balance in the economic relations with the East and the West was the matter of great significance for Poland. As to the first ones, they mainly play a stabilizing role while the relations with the West, are vital for the introduction of the market economy. Skubiszewski also stressed the strategic line of the Polish policy aimed at fostering political and economic stabilization between the East and the West.

Meeting With Andreotti

Before the departure of the Polish delegation for Warsaw, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Premier Giulio Andreotti held a another, short but termed as very cordial and promising, talk in the VIP lounge of the Roman Ciampino Airport.

In his statement for Polish journalists, the Italian premier once again expressed his joy that the new Polish premier chose Italy for his first foreign trip. Giulio Andreotti reiterated his will to grant Poland comprehensive assistance and expected that the fact that Tadeusz

Mazowiecki's visit will help deepen friendship and further development of multi-faceted relations between Italy and Poland.

The premier and the whole Polish delegation bidden farewell by Giulio Andreotti and other officials of the political life in Italy and by representatives of Polish diplomatic representations left for Poland aboard a Polish airlines LOT flight this afternoon.

On the way back to Warsaw, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki briefed journalists accompanying him on the preparations for his visit to the USSR and stressed the significance of the upcoming visit by Soviet foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Poland.

Return Home From Rome

LD2210014789 Warsaw PAP in English 2109 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 21—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned from his first official foreign visit to Rome Saturday afternoon.

"I'm satisfied," he said at the Warsaw Airport. "The visit was very friendly and unusually fruitful. Especially the meeting with the Pope in the Vatican was cordial and morally eloquent.

"The Italians were first to tell Europe about the necessity to proceed from words to deeds in helping Poland. They showed initiative and great friendliness, for which I am grateful to them."

Asked to evaluate the package under which Poland would get credits guaranteed by the Italian Government, Mazowiecki said that it was a very important decision. "I think, the Italian industry will also be inspired by this visit to fill these guarantees with contents reaching 400 million U.S. dollars, with concrete economic initiatives," Mazowiecki added.

Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki said that Poland would receive 5 thousand tonnes of beef, 6 thousand tonnes of mutton, medicines worth 7 million U.S. dollars, and 25 thousand tonnes of edible oil as the immediate Italian aid. At the same time the delegation was promised support for Polish-Italian enterprises. A separate fund has been set up for this purpose. The Italians plan training Polish managers, opening banks in Poland. The auto-maker "Fiat" is open to new types of cooperation, it waits for Polish response concerning the new type of car, and is ready to develop cooperation also in the field of arm machinery production, he said.

Visit Assessed

LD2210142189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Interview with Polish Ministers K. Skubiszewski and M. Swiecicki upon return to Warsaw airport from a visit to Rome on 21 October; by unidentified correspondent—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned from his first trip to Italy [word indistinct] this evening. The airport is not the best place for quiet conversation, but since there was no choice, [words indistinct] accompanied by the sound of a jet engine, I asked the primier and his ministers about their impressions and the economic talks. [passage omitted]

[Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski] We are satisfied because the Italian Government is offering us a variety of aid. It is to vary according to [?time]. To begin with, we are [?sending] 10 milliard lire for the purchase of the most indispensible drugs. This is very significant aid for us. Further loans are anticipated later. I won't go into detail since it is not the time for this. There will also be a substantial Italian guarantee for loans to enterprises which will be investigating in Poland and conducting various interests with Poland. The Italian position is very much meeting ours. The Italians believe that Europe and the developed would should give us considerable assistance, global aid—that means in various areas, and assistance adequate to meet our needs—and this is precisely the position which we would like to see within all of the most developed states.

[correspondent] I was talking to the Minister for Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Minister, which documents have your signature? [passage omitted]

[Minister of Foreign Economic Relations] Marcin Swiecicki. Sir, this was your first foreign trip and I suspect that your case of documents is the fullest, and [word indistinct] foreign economic cooperation.

[Marcin Swiecicki] This is my second trip, since I went to Brussels, where I presented our memorandum concerning foreign aid, and as regards my case, that is most probably true. The Italians approached all our needs very favorably. They promised to support us in the IMF, as regards confirmation of our economic program; well, support in the Paris Club as regards the rescheduling of our debts. They will also give guarantees for loans and credits to Poland, secured both by Italian enterprises and by the European Investment Bank, but under the condition that the IMF board accepts our program. They promised us some loan assistance [word indistinct] arranged with countries of the Third World. This is an exceptionally preferential [?exchange]. Finally, there is only some emergency aid, in the form of food supplies and medicine. [?they will be supporting Polish-Italian companies, joint ventures [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Swedish Daily Interviews Mazowiecki

PM1810153189 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Oct 89 p 10

[Report on interview with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Disa Hastad: "Expectations Are a Problem"]

[Text] Warsaw—"The most difficult thing since we assumed power has been that we have not had the system

against us and that we have to deal with people's high expectations, even their disappointment."

So said Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki when he met with DAGENS NYHETER in Poland's huge government palace.

Mazowiecki looked tired and more deeply lined than I remember him from his time as Solidarity adviser. His workdays are long. The lights are on in the government palace until far into the night.

Today, which also happens to be the day [12 October] that [Swedish Prime Minister] Ingvar Carlsson becomes the first foreign prime minister to visit and bring with him an aid package, Mazowiecki's government has made public its first package of economic measures.

It is a tough program for the Polish people. Will people really be able to bear these price hikes?

Mazowiecki looked hesitant when faced with the question, but said that he believes that there is a definite hope of improvement in Poland.

"But this hope is linked with impatience. We live under the pressure from this impatience. There were two possibilities for us in the government," he went on, "either move steadily toward a free market economy which could extricate Poland from its economic ills and its lack of competitiveness, or bring back a centrally controlled economy."

The latter solution would perhaps have been able to prevent price hikes, but it would not have created better economic conditions.

"If we had stayed with a centrally controlled economy, we would not have received any money from abroad. We will only receive such money if we change our system.

"That is why we have chosen the former course," Mazowiecki said. "But we understand that things will be difficult for people."

DAGENS NYHETER asked how much poverty the Poles can endure. Where does Mazowiecki himself draw the line for the subsistence minimum?

Mazowiecki said that this depends on which social group you belong to, and that no one can define this.

"No one has done before what we have to do—move from socialism to a different system, and this in circumstances of such high inflation."

DAGENS NYHETER asked whether the deep gulf that has existed in Poland between the people and the rulers is now being bridged. Mazowiecki said the formation of his government alone has already had an effect on people's attitude to the state.

"But we have only been in office for a month. We cannot expect people to be able to make such fundamental changes to something that has lasted for 40 years. It is an ongoing process."

How popular will Mazowiecki be when this program has been carried through? Even now opinion poll findings, particularly in the city of Lodz, show that many people are disappointed.

Half the population says it will not vote, and only 40 percent are prepared to support Solidarity. But Mazowiecki takes these figures calmly.

"We are bound to become even less popular as a government—for we cannot satisfy all people's expectations."

Does not Mazowiecki wish that he had a political party as a support? At present his support comes from Solidarity, which is really a trade union but calls itself a movement. And Lech Walesa also has ambitions of determining what the government will do. He has spoken out about the price rises and said that this could lead to "civil war." Sejm group leader Geremek also has his own ideas.

Mazowiecki considers that a natural process is taking place in which various political groups are forming. One or more parties will probably be formed. But he does not know for sure.

Who then will determine the government's measures?

He smiled and said that the government has the right to make decisions under the Constitution, but that other forces must also have their say.

DAGENS NYHETER asked whether this is difficult for him, but he smiled and said that it is probably as difficult for him as it is for the Swedish prime minister.

"The important thing," he said, "was to carry out the handover of power in such a way that we did not provoke opposition from the existing system, the system that already existed from the communists' time."

He sees this as one of the two main difficulties so far in his period of government. The other is the awareness of people's great expectations. And, in addition, the fact that people do not show full understanding of the fact that the transition to a market economy will mean that prices will actually be fixed by the market and not by the government.

Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson is about to arrive with aid totaling 100 million kronor per year to meet the need for measures in the environmental field, but is this not just a drop in the bucket?

"Of course it would make a great deal of difference if the aid from Sweden was greater," Mazowiecki said.

"But its speed is just as important, and we see the speed with which the Swedish prime minister came to Poland as proof that he understands our needs."

Spokesman on OKP's International Activity

LD1810232389 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 18—The international activity of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) was discussed today during a press conference held by the OKP spokesman Jacek Zakowski.

"The main goals of this activity consist is developing the democratic process in Eastern Europe, opening up Poland to Europe, building international understanding for the Polish situation and rapprochement not only between governments but also between societies of respective states. The reports of OKP deputies on their latest foreign trips illustrated these guidlines.

Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz was among delegates of the Polish Parliament for a session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in London and travelled to New York for the latest U.N. session as an advisor to Foreign Minister Skubiszewski. He was elected to the Executive Committee of the union. In New York Onyszkiewicz tried to push forward the issue of American aid for Poland.

Deputy Jan Rokita and Deputy Krzysztof Komornicki (PUWP) took part in a meeting of NATO's Political Committee in Rome during which Rokita delivered a speech critically assessing the 40-year policy of the pact towards Eastern Europe. In his view, this policy fortified the iron curtain and consolidated the post-Yaltan division. He argued that the West should be seriously interested in changing the political arrangement in Europe and not stabilizing it.

Rokita stated that his address did not contain any contradictions with the Polish reason of state presented at the U.N. in the name of the Polish Government by Minister Skubiszewski. In his view, meetings of this kind are starting to bring down frequently ill-disposed attitudes towards the West's economic assistance for Poland.

Deputy Zbigniew Janas has been handling Solidarnosc's contacts with the opposition in East European countries since 1980 and continues doing so till this day.

He spoke about the recent visit to Czechoslovakia which gave impluse for the Polish Parliament to condemn the intervention in 1968.

He also spoke about the participation of the Polish delegation in the congress of the People's Front of the Ukraine in Kiev, meeting with representatives of the local Helsinki Committee, with the leaders of the strike in Donbas and students.

He announced that the OKP would be a co-organizer of a seminar to be held in Lvov in December on blank spots in the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations.

An international seminar on culture in Central Europe will be held at Wroclaw University in November. Among the organizers are Adam Michnik, Timothy G. Ash, Jiri Pelikan.

Janas leaves for Hungary on Oct. 19 for talks with representatives of democratic groups.

All of these contacts contribute to better understanding and moreover, can be very important for yet more difficult matters such as Polish-German and Polish-Russian reconciliation, for Poles to regain a feeling of security stemming from the awareness that they are treading a common road with other nations of the region.

President's Chancellery Role Explained

LD1910212189 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 19 Oct 89

["By Wieslawa Mazarska and Waldemar Janiec"]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—Polish president's press spokesman Wlodzimierz Lozinski and head of the President's Chancellery Minister Michal Janiszewski presented a package of questions linked to the functioning of the President's Office at a meeting with Polish and foreign journalists today.

What is the President's Chancellery?

Michal Janiszewski said that the President's Office employed 226 civil servants. This is not more than in the former Chancellery of the Council of State despite an increase in the functions assigned to the President's Chancellery. Every second employee of the President's Office was employed in the chancellery of the Council of State, every eighth in the Office of the Council of Ministers. Janiszewski added that the employees' wages were not greater than in ministries, which is linked to president's categorical saving recommendations.

Janiszewski said also that there was no need to separate a special department for military affairs at the President's Office as the National Defence Committee comprehensively deals with these questions.

He added that the president would appoint two or even three new ministers of state in the coming future, stressing that their work and scope of duties would not in any degree clash with the functioning of individual government ministries.

What Is President in the State?

Both Janiszewski and Lozinski paid much attention to elaborating upon the role played by the president in Poland. The president is the supreme guarantor of the Polish reason of state, the highest representative of the Polish state in domestic and international relations, they said. Both stressed that there were no contradictions between the work of the President's Office and the government, the Sejm and the Senate. This has been confirmed by

hitherto practice. The president sizes up positively his hitherto cooperation with the premier. President Wojciech Jaruzelski has a permanent intention that the composition of his office could reflect pluralistic relations in the state, Janiszewski stressed. This assessment and these intentions stem strictly from President Wojciech Jaruzelski's political philosophy whose practical political line was started at the 10th PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party] plenum, Lozinski stressed.

Why Did President Not Use Veto?

Asked about application of the president's right to veto Sejm laws and government decisions, Wlodzimierz Lozinski stressed that so far the president did not see a need to make use of this right. The president also did not thus far make use of the constitutional right to preside over government meetings on matters of special importance.

Should the President Surrender his PUWP Membership?

Replying to a question suggesting that membership in the PUWP could not be reconciled with holding the highest state office, Lozinski stressed that President Wojciech Jaruzelski's political affiliations do not change and that under law, PUWP membership has no influence on activities as head of state. He added that Jaruzelski's political convictions spurred his interest in the reform program. The president chiefly wants to maintain and strengthen the leftist current in Polish political life. This explains his readiness to cooperate in preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress. Michal Janiszewski added that the ideas of the president are very progressive and getting involved in the current of reforms in the PUWP not only does not collide but outright backs the fulfilment of the function of state president.

The President's Stand on Conflict in Lodz

Asked about the president's stance on the conflict concerning the election of the president of Lodz, Lozinski replied that the president follows this conflict with deep concern, the deeper as the presidenty has a special affection for the city. Lozinski recalled that it was precisely at the initiative of Jaruzelski that the Polish Mother Memorial Hospital was built in Lodz. It is no longer a secret that a part of the medical equipment for the hosptial was bought for [by] money donated by Jaruzelski from author's fees for books and articles published in Poland and abroad.

The President's Foreign Trips

Spokesman Lozinski did not reveal the president's plans of possible foreign visits. He announced however that Bettino Craxi, the leader of the Italian Socialist Party, would visit Poland at the personal invitation of the president. President Jaruzelski will also meet with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl during the latter's visit to Poland to take place in November.

Following Honecker's Resignation

Asked to present the reaction of the president to Erich Honecker's resignation from the post of general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, Lozinski stated that the president fully appreciates the contribution of Erich Honecker to the development of cooperation between Poland and the GDR, as exemplified for example by the settlement of the Pomeranian Bay dispute. Lozinski also added that the possible election of Egon Krenz to the post of chairman of the Council of State of the GDR would be welcomed with congratulations and hope that his election would serve well the Polish-GDR relations and the matter of reforms in the GDR itself. At the same time Lozinski expressed a hope that the evolution of the situation would result in a drop in the number of refugees from the GDR crossing the Polish border.

President on Reunification of Germany

Asked about the president's stand on the recent statement of Deputy Adam Michnik who stated that Germans cannot be denied the right to unite, Lozinski stated that this problem was a co-factor of many European processes. He stressed that owing to history this was also a problem of the 4 superpowers. We favour the issue of the two German states being the issue of these two states, respecting its historical, all-European determinants so that the processes between these two states never again be able to cause conflicts in Europe, relations between Poland and Germany inclusive.

Following Statement of NATO General Secretary

Asked to take a stand on the statement of NATO General Secretary Woerner of October 9 presenting the stand of the alliance towards transformations in Eastern Europe, Lozinski stated that the policy of socialist states constantly aims at de-ideologizing international relations, noting at the same time that such statements as Mr. Woerner's can positively contribute to the process of detente and elimination of existing contradictions. In this respect Lozinski recalled the personal contribution of the Polish president to this cause, as the author of the plan of arms reductions and increasing confidence in Central Europe.

The President's Stance on Cooperatives

Experience confirms the correctness of the principle of respecting various forms of ownership. We however feel anxiety when we hear calls for the complete liquidation of cooperative forms of ownership, Lozinski said.

Mass Marks Solidarity Priest's Death Anniversary

LD2010023189 Warsaw PAP in English
0100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—On the 5th anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popieluszko today, the entire country honoured the memory of the martyr priest.

The Saint Stanislaw Kosta Church in Warsaw saw a solemn mass celebrated by Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp. In his sermon, Cardinal Glemp recalled the birth of Solidarity, in the activity of which Father Jerzy took an active part. " 'Rest in Peace, venerable. Solidarity is alive and you gave your life for it,' such words were uttered at his funeral", the primate recalled.

The mass was attended by Father Popieluszko's parents, senators and deputies with Andrzej Stelmachowski, Zofia, Kuratowska and Bronislaw Geremek and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Present were representatives of Solidarity regional commissions, industrial enterprises from the entire Poland, social and youth organizations, delegations from Lithuania and Hungary.

Wreaths and bunches of flowers were laid at the grave of Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

Residents of the Kujawy region and delegations from other parts of the country gathered this afternoon at the water dam in Wloclawek where the priest's body was thrown into the Vistula River by the murderers. Wreaths and bunches of flowers were laid at the cross commemorating the tragic event. The prayer-meeting was attended by Wloclawek Bishop Roman Andrzejewski.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2300 GMT on 19 October carries a shorter report on this mass which begins: "On the fifth anniversary of the tragic death of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, murdered by functionaries of the security service, a ceremonial mass was celebrated by Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp at St Stanislaw Kostka Church in Warsaw."]

New PZPR Leader Elected in Rzeszow

LD1710060289 Warsaw PAP in English
2145 Gmt 16 Oct 89

[Text] Rzeszow, Oct. 16—The plenum of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow debated today to discuss the most important tasks of the voivodship organization before the 11th PUWP Congress. The debaters pointed to the party's extremely difficult and complex situation in the present period.

First PUWP Secretary of the Voivodship Committee Franciszek Karp (working on this post for nine years) offered resignation from the functions he performed so far during the plenum.

36-year-old Wieslaw Ciesielski—so far head of the department of science, education and culture at the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow—was elected new first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Rzeszow in a secret ballot. He is a cybernetician by profession and doctor of economic sciences by education.

Member of the CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau and PUWP CC Secretary Leszek Miller was also present.

Green Party Proposes Ecological Coalition

LD1910105189 Warsaw PAP in English
0033 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 18—The Polish Green Party has addressed a message to about 140 Polish ecological movements and organisations.

The Polish Green Party proposes to make a coalition of ecological movements and organisations, perhaps on the basis of the generally accepted conceptions, such as eco-development, in tune with the decisions of the round table ecological subteam.

Every member of the coalition would retain its ideological identity and organisational autonomy. Building such a coalition or a negotiating committee, as well as the definition of the detailed principles of its functioning could take place at the ecological rally of all groups and organisations which the message proposes to hold early next year or on February 14, 1990, on the first anniversary of the inauguration of the round table ecological subteam conference.

President Jaruzelski Pardons 286 Prisoners

LD2110204989 Warsaw PAP in English
1847 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—Pursuing humanitarian act announced on August 17, Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski examined 326 applications filed by the Polish general public prosecutor and pardoned 286 persons, remitting their sentences of imprisonment and fines.

The applications concerned 112 women and 214 men. Each of the mentioned persons fits at least one of the criteria required to administer the Polish president's humanitarian act mentioned above. The criteria included disability, advanced age (60-year-old women, 65-year-old men) or infancy (some people were under 18 when they committed offence or they take care of child).

Forty persons covered by the pardon procedure were not fit for applying the benefit of the humanitarian act towards them because of the possibility of relapse. Jaruzelski examined another several dozen applications of the general public prosecutor.

50 Persons Reinstated in Radio, TV Field

LD2010194489 Warsaw PAP in English
1800 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—The examination of applications by persons fired for political reasons or trade union work from their posts in the Committee for Radio and TV during martial law is under way. The deadline of reinstating all the applicants passes on October 31.

Plenipotentiary of the committee's Chairman Janusz Kasprzycki told PAP reporter about results of the talks held now.

Till today, 319 people, representing Warsaw and local radio and TV stations in more or less equal proportions, have responded to an appeal by Chairman Andrzej Drawicz.

Of course, we can hardly live up to the expectations of everybody, as there are often controversial and ambiguous situations. So far, about 50 persons have been reinstated. They include such well-known persons from radio and TV as Janina Jankowska, Szczesna Milli, Jacek Snopkiewicz and Marcin Wolski, Kasprzycki said.
6 Oct Meeting

AU1910115589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 89 p 2

[PAP report: "The Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki chaired a meeting of the Council of Ministers held on 16 October.

The council approved draft amendments to the 1989 budget law. The amendments reflect the effects of the disadvantageous changes in the state budget situation at the end of 1989. The proposed changes concerning the financial system will make it possible to prevent further growth in the budget deficit. According to Finance Ministry estimates, a failure to make radical decisions would result in the budget deficit reaching a level of Z9.2 trillion at the end of the year. The Sejm accepted an increase in the budget deficit to Z4.9 trillion in October, on condition that it is reduced by the end of the year. In order to achieve the reduction, actions have been planned that will curb state expenditure on the one hand and increase revenue on the other hand.

The institutional changes that have been proposed include:

—a change in the principles governing the provision of subsidies to the mining of bituminous coal that will ensure no more than that the mines operate at the minimum level of profitability;

—a change in the principles governing the advance payment of income tax, which will mean that advance payments will be based on actual income for the period from 1 October through 30 November and not on the average level of income for the first three quarters;

—sales of treasury bills, which can be sold to the state for deeds of ownership pertaining to national property that is to be privatized; the subscription of treasury bills will provide the budget with additional revenue before the end of this year.

The Council of Ministers approved a package of legal measures that will provide an additional Z23,700 to the wage and benefit supplements to compensate for foodstuff price increases. There will also be a significant increase in retirement and disability pensions. The Council of Ministers adopted a directive that will increase retirement pensions, disability pensions, and family income supplements awarded no later than 31 August by Z30,000 monthly, and this increase will be effective 1 September. The amount is to constitute an advance payment linked to the pensions and benefit review starting 1 October

The Council of Ministers amended the directive defining statutory and maximum interest rates. Statutory interest rates have been raised from 99 percent to 120 percent. This is linked to the banking system's policy of maintaining realistic interest rates, that is, to adjust the interest charged on loans in line with the inflation rate. This was also the reason behind the abolition of maximum interest rates, which is a move designed to increase the independence of banks and to make them adjust their activities to follow market mechanisms.

Reestablished Journalists Union Holds Plenum

LD2010042889 Warsaw PAP in English 0056 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—A plenary meeting of the SDPRL Journalists' Union Main Board adopted a resolution in which it calls the decision to dissolve the SDP (journalists' union until 1982) in 1982 as politically wrong.

"We also recognize as lawless and politically wrong the verification of journalists carried out in 1982 which sent a portion of our colleagues out of job and forced others to break their contacts with their papers," reads the resolution.

"By condemning both these decisions we express a deep conviction that practices of this type, disintegrating the jounalist community and striking at the professional dignity and existence of Polish journalists will never be repeated," it reads.

Anniversary Messages Exchanged With GDR

AU2110210289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1929 GMT 21 Oct 89

["On the Anniversary of 40 Years Since the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Romania and the German Democratic Republic"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/10/1989—On the anniversary of 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the German Democratic Republic, messages were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, and Egon Krenz, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], deputy chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

The telegram of the RCP and Romanian state leader reads:

On the completion of 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the German Democratic Republic, a moment with profound meanings in the history of the relations between our peoples and countries, I am addressing to you, the party and state leadership, the whole people of the German Democratic Republic, a fraternal salute of militant solidarity and best wishes.

In the period elapsed since the memorable act, the relations of lasting friendship and multilateral collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the German Democratic Republic, followed a steadily upward course in all domains of activity.

I reiterate on this jubilee as well, our wish to work further for a still wider expansion of the relations between the RCP and the SUPG, for raising onto a still higher level the relations of collaboration between Romania and the German Democratic Republic on a political, economic, technological-scientific and other planes so that they may stand out more and more as an example of fertile collaboration between socialist countries committed with all forces to the building of the new system.

The Romanian Communist Party, the Romanian people assess highly the great achievements won by the GDR people under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in socialist construction and in the country's economic and social development, its firm policy in the struggle for the development of the socialist countries' collaboration, for disarmament, for progress and peace in the world, the principled, clear-cut stand of the party and government of the German Democratic Republic in defending and developing socialism, against any interference in other states' domestic affairs.

I wish you and the friendly people of the German Democratic Republic new and ever bigger successes in the work of building the socialist society, in raising the country onto ever higher stages of progress and prosperity.

On the same occasion, Romania's Foreign Minister Ioan Totu and the GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, exchanged telegrams expressing the confidence that the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries would further develop and deepen, to mutual benefit, in the interests of the cause of socialism, peace and collaboration among all nations of the world.

SCINTEIA Assesses Relations With GDR

AU2210193589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 22 Oct 89

["Manifold Cooperation in the Interest of Socialism and Peace"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/10/1989—Under this headline SCINTEIA of 22 October runs an editorial marking the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the GDR, an event which the newspaper assesses as of particular importance for the development of the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and which went down as a significant step on the line of consolidating the new realities emerged in Europe as a consequence of the peoples' victory over fascism.

Next the article in SCINTEIA reads inter alia:

The event of 22 October 1949 took place shortly after the creation of the first state of workers and peasants on the German soil, Romania being among the first countries to have recognized the German Democratic Republic, as a crowning of the traditional solidarity between the progressive, revolutionary forces of the two peoples, between their communist parties in the fight against exploitation and class oppression, against fascism and war, for freedom and a better life.

An important moment in the development of the links between the two countries was the conclusion, in 1972, of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, ample and fruitful framework of cooperation in a broad perspective. The provisions in principle of this document have been permanently materialized in the joint declarations signed at top level, in other bilateral documents which, starting from the growing potential of the two countries, from the experience gained, have set new cooperation goals.

The cooperation between Romania and the GDR brought and brings in bold relief the constructive character of the new principles of relations the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance, underlying the ties between the two countries.

After stressing that the links of close friendship and cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was and is a

decisive factor of the development of these bonds, a particular role being played in this respect by the summit meetings and talks, SCINTEIA writes:

As is known, working in the spirit of militant solidarity which characterizes the relations between the two countries, Socialist Romania, the Romanian people have followed with warm empathy the efforts of the GDR, of its people to build the new system. At the same time, our country has firmly and consistently worked for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all the states on the basis of the international law, warmly backed its admission to the United Nations and other international organizations. Romania has firmly condemned the attempts of the imperialist, revanchist circles to interfere in the domestic affairs of the friendly and allied country, has reiterated the full solidarity of the Romanian party and people with the fight of the communists and of the people of the GDR for socialism and peace, for understanding and a broad international cooperation.

Within the relations between the two countries of particular importance is the economic, technical and scientific cooperation set on a number of long-term accords, programmes by branches and annual protocols which impart stability and perspective to these ties. Along the years, the GDR has become one of the major economic partners of Romania which, in its turn, holds an important place in that country's foreign economic relations. A telling example of the development of cooperation is the growth, over the past twenty years, of more than 12 times of reciprocal exchanges of material goods in point of volume, this year seeing the highest level so far of these exchanges. A special programme has been worked out in consideration of these achievements and of the dynamism of the two countries' economies for the ever more powerful development of cooperation until the end of the next five-year interval. The share of the qualitative factors of cooperation is growing constantly with cooperation in production and production specialization holding an already 40 per cent share and following an upward course. Telling is also the fact that relations cover decisive domains for the development of the forces of production and the increase of social labor productivity. The expansion and diversification of this cooperation bears positively on the relations between our two countries in general. Also following an upward course is cooperation in culture, tourism, mass media and other areas which contribute to a better mutual knowledge of the achievements and concerns of the two peoples, to rapprochement and the strengthening of their friendship.

At the same time, Romania and the GDR, the leading political forces of the two countries develop a close cooperation in the world arena, in the interest of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, of the communist and worker parties, of all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the fight for disarmament, understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

A retrospect of the forty years elapsed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the German Democratic Republic underscores the truth that the ever broader development of the cooperation between the two friendly socialist countries meets the major interests and aspirations of both peoples, of the general cause of socialism, peace, understanding and cooperation on our continent and worldwide, SCINTEIA writes in conclusion.

Stoian Receives CSSR Youth Delegation

AU1710204889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 17 Oct 89

["Czechoslovak Youth Delegation Visits Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/10/1989—A delegation of the Socialist Union of Youth of the Czecholovak S.R., headed by Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Union's Central Committee [CC], now on a Romanian visit, called on Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party].

During the talks the sides pointed out the good relations established between the two parties, countries and peoples, which grow continuously in the spirit of the understandings agreed upon by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Commitee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The sides pointed out the active contribution the youth organizations in the two countries make to safeguarding and firmly promoting the principles of scientific socialism, to continuously expanding, upon this basis, the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Czechoslovakia in the mutual interest of the Romanian and the Czechoslovak people, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Participating n the call was Ioan Toma, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth].

Jan Papp, Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Bucharest, was present.

The delegatin of the Socialist Union of the Youth in the Czechoslovak S.R. talked at the CC of the UCY with Ioan Toma, first secretary of the CC of the UCY. On the occasion the sides informed mutually of the current preoccupations of the two organizations and of the participation of Romania's and Czechoslovakia's young generation in the implementation of the programmes of economic and social development.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 7-13 Oct

AU1610092089

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 7-13 October period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited marketplaces and food industry units and examined supply problems with responsible people at the party Central Committee Headquarters in Bucharest on 8 October. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 89) On 9 October, they visited a new store in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 9 Oct 89)

Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC), and Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense, met with Major-General Eduardo Da Silva Nihia, member of the Mozambique Liberation Front, in Bucharest on 13 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 13 Oct 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu attended ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in Berlin on 7 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0730 GMT 7 Oct 89) On the same day in Berlin, Nicolae Ceausescu met with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1356 GMT 8 Oct 89); with Vietnamese Communist Party leader Nguyen Van Linh (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0820 GMT 7 Oct 89); with Bulgarian Communist Party leader Todor Zhivkov (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1629 GMT 7 Oct 89); with Yemeni Socialist Party leader 'Ali Salim al-Bid (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 7 Oct 89); and attended the military parade and reception (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1404 GMT 8 Oct 89). On the same day, Ceausescu returned to Bucharest from Berlin. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2239 GMT 7 Oct 89) On 8 October, Ceausescu met with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 8 Oct 89) On 10 October, Nicolae Ceausescu visited marketplaces and agro-industrial trade outlets in Bucharest and discussed tasks with executives and experts. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2012 GMT 10 Oct 89) The same day, Ceausescu received Lord Francis Newall, member of the Defense Commission of the British Parliament, in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2010 GMT 10 Oct 89) On 12 October, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a PEC meeting on economic issues in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1847 GMT 12 Oct 89) On the same day in Bucharest, Ceausescu met with the U.S. participants in the session of the Romanian-American Economic Council in Bucharest (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1114 GMT 13 Oct 89) and received the credentials of new Burkina Faso Ambassador Ye Anitan Jonas. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1354 GMT 13 Oct 89) On 13 October, Nicolae Ceausescu visited food industry units in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2008 GMT 13 Oct 89)

Elena Ceausescu, PEC member, received the GDR higher education minister, Hans-Joachim Boehme, in Bucharest on 13 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1856 GMT 13 Oct 89)

Stefan Andrei, PEC candidate member, met with the head of a Bangladesh delegation in Bucharest on 12 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 12 Oct 89)

Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, met with PRC party activists in Bucharest on 8 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1720 GMT 8 Oct 89)

Ion Dinca, PEC member, attended the session of the Romanian-Hungarian Government Commission for Economic Cooperation in Bucharest on 12 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 12 Oct 89)

Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC, was received by Korean Workers Party leader Kim Il-song in Pyongyang. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1032 GMT 9 Oct 89)

Radio Reports Krenz as Honecker's Replacement

AU1810144189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] We have just received the latest news from TANJUG. The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany elected Egon Krenz, the youngest member of the Politburo and until now the chief of the security department, the new chairman of the party. Erich Honecker, who has been the leader of the party for many years, has stepped down from this position.

Albania Accused of Financing Terrorists

LD1910230889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—President of a parliamentary commission of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Dragan Nikolic directly accused Albania at Wednesday's session of a federal parliament commission of financing and training terrorists operating in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo with the aim of bringing about an armed rebellion and the secession of that province.

In response to the initiative to soften the stands towards Albania expressed in a document on Kosovo at a time of improvements in relations in the Balkans, Nikolic said that evidence existed of a direct connection between Albanian separatists in Kosovo, foreign emigration and the Albanian state, which was directly involved in undermining Yugoslavia's integrity.

Yugoslav Assistant Secretary of the Interior Dusko Trajkovski added that, according to reports by the Yugoslav intelligence service and the federal secretariat of foreign affairs, there was a united front of Albanian separatists operating in Yugoslavia, Albania and other European countries. He confirmed Nikolic's allegations about a link between illegal groups of Albanian separatists and the Albanian intelligence service.

Central Committee Meets Before Party Congress

LD2010150589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1314 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia [LCC] has proposed to call a special session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] to discuss the current political and social processes blocking a democratic dialogue and stirring up confrontations and dissension.

In a telex, sent to President of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Milan Pancevski Thursday afternoon and published today, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia maintains that in past preparations for the congress, not enough attention was given to political work and activity conducive to a constructive atmosphere for democratic dialogue and cooperation, thus ensuring the conditions necessary for action unity of the LCY.

The LCC Central Committee also noted that "political conditions in Yugoslavia are evidently marked with confrontations, divisions, conflicts, and attempts to block the reform commitments of the LCY, with methods of pressure, threat and intolerance being predominant."

The LCY Central Committee Presidency has accepted the LCC Central Committee's proposal and decided that the LCY Central Committee should hold such a session prior to the forthcoming party congress.

28th League of Communists Plenum Commences

AU2010093289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Kosta Krajincanic report]

[Text] The 28th session of the highest party body in the country has begun after a 15-minute delay. Work according to the agenda began only 2-3 minutes ago. Featuring on the agenda are draft congress documents on the economic reform and changes in the political system. Introductory speeches are going to be made by Central Committee Presidium members Stanko Radmilovic, who is speaking at the moment, and Ivica Racan.

Amendments to the Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are also to be discussed. A decision on the date and venue of the 14th extraordinary party congress is also planned. Some sensitive questions concerning the situation within the party will also be discussed: for example, the problems that have arisen between Novi Sad and Zagreb because of the initiative of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina League of Communists on the need for a political assessment of the situation in the Knin region.

Because it has such a long agenda, the plenum will last 2 days, and perhaps even longer. In fact, this session opens the final part of the congress preparations. Opening the session, Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium, pointed to the need to remove all differences in observing basic and most important issues in the Yugoslav reality.

Let me say one more thing: Pancevski has informed the Central Committee that the Presidium had received an initiative from the Croatian League of Communists to hold a special Central Committee session to discuss the political situation and phenomena blocking the political dialogue on social reforms.

That is all from the Sava Center.

Top Appointments To Be Decided

LD2010112289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0951 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG)—The 28th plenary session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opened at the Sava Centre here Friday morning. The focus of attention during the two-day session will be [word indistinct] Congress drafts of reforms in the economic and political system and a preliminary draft of amendments of the LCY Statute.

The agenda will also include decisions to introduce the post of president of the LCY Central Committee, constitution of the Executive-Political Organ of the committee, and terms of office of president and secretary.

The top party forum will also adopt a decision on the date and venue of the 14th special congress of the LCY. The Central Committee is also to adopt positions on the ideo-political essence of attacks on Josip Broz Tito and his work and on the tasks of communists in connection with these attacks.

In his opening statement, President of the Central Committee Presidency Milan Pancevski called for overcoming the existing differences in the pre-congress period.

This will make it possible to go to the congress more united, said Pancevski. He added that the plenum will be resumed next Friday, if it does not end tomorrow because of extensive agenda.

Radio Reports Plenum Continues

AU2010120989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The 28th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is under way at the Sava Center in Belgrade. Here is a report by Kosta Krajincanic:

The debate on the first item on the agenda, the economic reform and the tasks of the League of Communists in connection with the draft program document for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, is being held at the Sava Center at the moment. In his introductory speech on this topic, Stanko Radmilovic has, among other things, said the following: The failure of the economic reform would lead us into equally unacceptable epilogues. We would either remain in the waters of a quasi-market system or a state socialism—something similar to what happened in 1968—or with much difficulty, breakdowns, and uncertainty, we would move to another extreme, a social democratic system without social ownership and self-management, and not a Scandinavian, but a Balkan version of a social democratic system .

Twenty-four members of the Central Committee have announced their wish to speak about this item on the agenda. Seven people have spoken so far. Josip Eterovic is going to the rostrum at the moment.

A debate on the changes in the political system should also help us prepare for the 14th party congress. Ivica Racan will make an introductory speech on this topic.

According to the agenda, there are also two decisions to be made: a decision on introducing the post of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia with a 2-year term of office, and another one on the venue and time of the 14th congress.

Central Committee members will also deal with the draft amendments to the Statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as some cadre questions. Among other things they will discuss Vukasin Micunovic's resignation as Central Committee member.

There is special interest in the debate on the occurrences of attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito, as well as in a report on the demand issued by the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Vojvodina that the situation in the Knin Region be examined.

It was proposed that the plenum should work until 2000 today and until 1700 tomorrow. If the debate does not end by then, it will be continued the following Friday [27 October]. This was a report from the Sava Center.

Slovene Daily Views LCY Congress, Future

AU1810122589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Oct 89 p 9

[Janja Klasinc commentary: "Regular, Extraordinary, or Last Congress of the LCY?"]

[Text] **Will the 14th LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Extraordinary Congress perhaps also be the last congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia? These days, quite a few people are asking this question only half in jest. But the truth is that the question is becoming less and less a joke and more and more a matter of serious concern. The possibility certainly cannot be entirely excluded. Constant quarrels at the sessions of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, the name calling of the highest communist representatives from other republics in various speeches and talks, unwillingness to enter any kind of a dialogue, and the real and great ideological differences attest to the fact that we also can expect a formal disintegration of the League of Communists [LC] in near future.**

However the events develop, it is clear that the LC as it is now will no longer exist. There are two or perhaps even three possibilities for its development. The first possibility is that the party may liberalize or democratize itself and embark on the path now followed by the LC of Slovenia, the LC of Croatia and also, to some extent, the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This really is the only possible path for them because otherwise communist organizations in these parts of the state would lose all support

of their members. As it is, they do not really need the support of a majority of people if they seriously intend to step down from power. The second possibility is exactly the opposite of the first. It is the possibility that the LC regress a few years or decades, that is, to the time when it was in power as a party of like-minded people. Within the framework of this possibility it would continue to hold everything in its own hands and to assure the people that it would lead them to a better future and that it alone is capable of achieving this. As a matter of fact, a sizable part of the existing LC does not need to turn to its past to regain these qualities because it still has them. However, considered realistically, the strong-arm system has few chances of survival. The fact is that democratization is irrepressibly advancing in our state and no decrees can stop it.

It has become increasingly obvious recently that these two opposites are so far apart that it is probably impossible to bridge the gap between them. The processes taking place in Serbia and its provinces and in Montenegro show that the no thought of abandoning the power has ever crossed the minds of the LC leaderships there. They have successfully eliminated all those who think differently; they talk about democracy and the will of the people but at the same time they continue to firmly hold the reins in their own hands. Yet, at the same time, political documents on political pluralism and about the party's intention to step down from power continue to be adopted in Serbia and Montenegro and at the federal level. The very contradictions between individual statements by some party officials in these regions show the extent to which the words in these documents may or may not be sincere. Let us only recall, for instance, Bulatovic's calls to arms by which "peace is to be achieved" in Yugoslavia! Or, the statement by Radosa Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade city party organization, at the latest session of the committee for the preparation of the LCY Congress: "The Federation will be as agreed upon by the peoples and nationalities and as the party will decide!" He went on by calling for the urgent introduction of political pluralism but at the same time immediately warned that the party should reach an accord on what kind of freedom of opinion, press, and speech it advocates. Thus, the logic is clear: "We are in favor of democracy but the LC will decide the extent of this democracy and how many droplets of it we may be allowed to savor!"

The party's principle of democratic centralism is another point on which the LC is breaking up. A majority of the party still firmly swears by it but nearly no one observes it. Once again we can recall a few examples: The LCY Central Committee Presidium concluded that mass rallies should be stopped, but in Serbia and Montenegro it was precisely the communists who at that time became even more active in organizing the "will of the people." The same Presidium condemned ungrounded attacks on the late president Tito—something that was to also be discussed at the session of the Central Committee—and yet at the same time Belgrade newspapers, whose chief and responsible editors are of course LC members, as well as some well known figures of political and public life, opened a veritable hunting season on sins of Josip Broz Tito. The Central Committee concluded by a majority vote that the Slovene communists should spare no efforts to postpone the adoption of the Slovene constitutional amendments; our members of the Central Committee voted against this conclusion and then rushed to the airport, flew directly to the adoption of these amendments, and after the adoption they applauded and sang the song of "Zdravica" to it. All in all, it is clear that everyone only observes those conclusions which suit him and no others. After all, this is logical; the principle of democratic centralism is obviously obsolete nonsense.

Several more similar examples of the split within the LCY could be cited here. Therefore it is also understandable that it will not be possible to hold the 14th Extraordinary Congress in December. For the time being it has been postponed until January. But why then is the congress called extraordinary when it is to be held in the year for which it had been scheduled in the first place?! Regular, extraordinary, or perhaps last? Perhaps within a year something such as what happened in Hungary will also happen in our country and we will have something else instead of the hammer and sickle symbol. This would perhaps be good only if it were not merely a matter of the symbol but also a matter of the method and content of work which would be essentially different from the method and content of work symbolized by hammer and sickle.

Belgrade Proposed as Venue for LCY Congress

LD1710140389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Crotian 1139 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session today the Presidium of the Yugoslav League of Communists [LCY] Central Committee tabled a proposal for Belgrade to be the venue for the 14th extroardinary congress of the LCY, Marko Lolic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, announced at a press conference today.

The proposed dates for the congress are 20, 21 and 22 January 1990. The above proposal was reached after the LCY Central Committee Presidium had considered all economic, organizational, and technical conditions necessary for hosting a gathering of this kind.

Tribute must be paid to other cities which figured as possible hosts and which, in fact, also met all our conditions, Lolic said.

A proposal will be made for representatives of the three cities (Dubrovnik, Split and Sarajevo) to attend the 14th extraordinary congress as guests.

The proposal for Belgrade to host the next congress will be submitted to LCY Central Committee members, who are expected to make a final decision by the end of this week.

Our proposal is clear and there are no grounds for speculations of any kind, Marko Lolic stressed.

Federal Chamber Holds Session, Adopts Laws

On Securities

LD1910125289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber today unanimously adopted the law on securities under which shares and share-holding companies will be reintroduced in the Yugoslav economy after more than 50 years. For decades shares and share-holding companies were considered essential features of capitalist economic relations, and as such, incompatible with socialism. The law guarantees shareholders' right to the dividends and the possibility of joining the board of the share- issuing company. [passage omitted]

On Money, Capital Market

LD1910125589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber today unanimously adopted the law on money and the capital market under which a stock exchange will be introduced into the Yugoslav economy once again. At the same time, the existing money market will stop operating and within the next 6 months a new financial organization will have to be set up for trading in available bank funds and short-term securities.

Capital markets (or stock markets) can be opened in several places in Yugoslavia and will trade in long-term securities, primarily shares. These markets will be linked through a single information system. [passage omitted]

Socialist Alliance on Assembly Elections

LD1810173189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1632 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 18 (TANJUG)—The new alliances, associations and movements are to participate in the next assembly elections in Yugoslavia, as federal conference secretary of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Josip Hrvatin stated today.

Speaking at a session of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Presidency, devoted to the organization's pre-election activities; Hrvatin explained that the Yugoslav "alternatives" should exercise all the electoral rights on a par with the other social and political organizations.

He did not, however, explain whether that implied that the newly founded organizations, the majority of which have not been registered yet, would have first to be legalized. Many of the alternative organizations do not wish to be collective members of the Socialist Alliance. The Yugoslav constitution does not permit a multi-party system.

Hrvatin set out that the assembly elections were a (?chance) for a broad and qualitative renewal of cadres in all institutions of the Yugoslav system. He said that the Socialist Alliance would urge the election (?of) new individuals who are committed to radical economic and social reforms which would ensure a speedier solution of the longstanding crisis in the country.

The newly introduced amendments to the federal Constitution have enabled the holding of secret and direct elections, opened a choice from among more than one candidate and introduced broader candidacy rights, as Hrvatin recalled. Apart from the Socalist Alliance, the trade unions and workers' assemblies in working collectives, candidates can now be proposed also by farmers, workers employed in private, cooperative or mixed firms, free-lancers and groups of citizens.

The democratization of the electoral [word indistinct] should be used in the next parliamentary elections to block the anti- reformist and chauvinist forces and, thereby, prevent the rise to power of individuals displaying excessive leadership ambitions, Hrvatin underscored.

Vojvodina Executive Council President Resigns

LD1810131589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Jon Srbovan, president of Vojvodina Executive Council, today tendered his written resignation. The resignation was sent to the president of Vojvodina assembly.

Explaining his reasons for resignation, Jon Srbovan notes that under a decision by the League of Communists [LC] committee of the Stari Grad municipality of Novi Sad, he was meted out the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. He goes on to say that although he cannot accept the reasons behind the measure he has decided to resign in the belief that it would contribute to the present state of relations in the Executive Council and in the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and would help to maintain these relations in line with the Executive Council's constitutional position, rights and responsibilities vis-a-vis the Assembly.

The resignation by Jon Srbovan was today considered by the Vojvodina Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments. The commission recommended that the Assembly delegates discuss the resignation at their session on 24 October.

Governor Jelacic Used 'For Political Ends'

AU1710205489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 89 p 2

[Seada Vranic commentary: "Do Not Wake the Governor"]

[Text] "The democratic public" entered the stage in Zagreb on Sunday [8 Oct]. Between 30,000 and 70,000

people gathered on Republic Square for the largest gathering of Zagreb people and in order to use their signatures to bind the authorities to returning the bronzed governor [ban] Jelacic to the place whence he was removed 4 decades ago. "Neither the state not the party" were behind the largest happening on Republic Square since the youth relay race. It honestly would not have suited them to get involved with this type of "organization of the people" and sharp journalist and boulevard-publicist quills would also certainly have criticized them for diverting attention away from the real problems and onto the sidelines.

The organizers of Sunday's petition were activists of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance [CSLA] but the initiative to return the governor's statue to the Zagreb people stems, as is already known, from VJESNIK. The political structures, which seem to be strained by the aforementioned initiative and even more so by the announcement by the CSLA that it would invite citizens to vote on the governor, reacted promptly. The Presidium of the City Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Zagreb put an extraordinary "point on the monument" onto the agenda a few days ago and gave permission for the disputed horseman to return to the Zagreb people. Obviously what lies behind this decision by the forum, which gave its "judgment" almost without any discussion, is the assessment and even fear that a gathering of citizens on Republic Square could develop into a political incident. They probably expected that the CSLA would revoke their invitation to citizens to Sunday's gathering. This assessment was probably naive because the social liberals did not want to miss the opportunity that suddenly arose to present themselves to citizens as a political force that can be relied on at any time. By the way, the CSLA tried out the tested recipe which it speaks about with much indignation and sarcasm when others use it. Indeed, the CSLA will not in the least admit that the "people had entered their stage" because "the democratic public" is more suitable for it. However, no matter what Sunday's happening is called, the irrevocable fact remains that the whole event was organized not for the sake of the governor himself but for the sake of the political promotion of the CSLA. This action (even though a vast majority of the people who came to the square to sign their name thought that they were attending a cultural and civil event) represents above all a political act, just as the removal of the monument to the rebellious Austrian army leader was motivated by political reasons. Thus, only naive people can believe that quite clear political intentions were not behind the whole action because, were it not so, why would they be knocking on an open door and insisting on the pressure of the "democratic public" when everyone already knew that the authorities would not oppose the re-erection of the monument to Governor Jelacic.

After all, the political intentions of the organizers were, perhaps even inadvertently, revealed by the coalition partner of Tudjman's branch of the Croatian democratic community whose activists arrived "uninvited to the wedding" and used this opportunity to distribute leaflets to those who had gathered which articulate the spirit of the seventies when Governor Jelacic also served as one of the means of the mass movement in its campaign to take power.

Of course, the Croatian social liberals cannot be criticized for behaving like "uninvited guests," but their obvious manipulation of citizens cannot be kept quiet. This is because the leaders of the CSLA know very well that decisions on the location of monuments in all civilized societies (and the social liberals supposedly advocate such a society) are not made by citizens but by urban experts, architects, and even art historians.

Thus, the governor was once again totally innocently utilized for political ends and the public was once again used for the same ends. The organizers of the manifestations of devotion to the governor (garnished with bouquets of fresh flowers placed close to a miniature wooden sculpture of the horse and the singing by individual enthusiastic groups of "irresponsible fans" of "Rise up Governor Jelacic") played on the sensitive national trait of Croatianism, calculating that they would win this game. They were probably right if they thought that, at a time of considerably increased sensitivity and national tensions, the national element is a safe bet. However, they must also take account of the consequences of these games and even recall the events in Croatia of 20 years ago when games with national feelings returned like a boomerang leaving behind traumas above all for those on whose behalf these games were played and on whose behalf this manifestation on Republic Square was also held. The fact that the social liberals are an alternative and still illegal organization does not give them the right to be able to do what they want in the struggle for winning political space, just as the political structures have not been pardoned for the responsibility for these and all similar events which could produce additional national and even nationalist tensions.

Protest Deemed 'Legal'

AU1710205689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "The Action for Returning the Monument to Governor Jelacic Was Carried Out Legally"]

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Oct—At a regular session today, the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Zagreb discussed the current political situation in the city, paying particular attention to yesterday's meeting on Republic Square in Zagreb.

Luka Miletic, president of the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Zagreb, stressed that the initiative to return the monument honoring governor [ban] Jelacic arose 3 years ago in the Assembly of the city of Zagreb and that the preparation for yesterday's organization of a petition—to which a great number of citizens responded—was legally carried out. However, certain militant groups and individuals exploited the action. The organizer, the Croatian Social

Liberal Alliance, did not in this respect fully adhere to the envisaged scenario which it announced when it applied for a permit. Luka Miletic also mentioned the unauthorized activity by the "Croatian Democratic Community."

We will not allow any militant activity by individuals and groups which supposedly proceeds from the defense of the Croatian people, Miletic said.

BORBA'S Poll on Newspaper Popularity

AU1610142689

[Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 2 October on page 7 carries a 3,000-word report on the results of a public opinion poll on the Yugoslav newspapers carried out by the BORBA's public opinion research center. The research center polled 20 people from each republic, "15 from 3 big cities from each republic plus 5 more from each republic who acted as a control group." All 120 people were randomly selected from the telephone directories.

The results of the poll are presented in four tables. The following tables show the results of the poll:

Table 1. The Views of Citizens According to Republics (6 most frequent answers)

1. Which in your view are the most influential newspapers?	
Socialist Republic of Macedonia	percent
1. None	28
2. Don't know	28
3. POLITIKA	16
4. BORBA	08
5. NIN	08
6. NOVA MAKEDONIJA	08
Socialist Republic of Serbia	
1. POLITIKA	54
2. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	09
3. BORBA	05
4. POLITIKA EKSPRES	05
5. DNEVNIK	05
6. DUGA	05
Socialist Republic of Croatia	
1. VJESNIK	20
2. BORBA	17
3. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	17
4. Republican newspapers	13
5. POLITIKA	08
6. NIN	04
Socialist Republic of Slovenia	
1. DELO	18
2. MLADINA	11
3. POLITIKA	11
4. VECER	07
5. BORBA	07
6. POLITIKA EKSPRES	05
Socialist Republic of Montenegro	
1. POLITIKA	38
2. POBJEDA	17
3. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	10
4. DUGA	07
5. NIN	03
6. TV REVIJA	03
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina	
1. POLITIKA	25
2. VECERNJE NOVINE	18
3. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	11
4. VECERNJI LIST	07
5. DANAS	07
6. BORBA	07
2. Which newspaper do you respect most?	
Socialist Republic of Macedonia	
1. POLITIKA	27
2. NIN	13
3. BORBA	10
4. SPORT	10
5. POLITIKIN ZABAVNIK	10
6. NOVA MAKEDONIJA	06
Socialist Republic of Serbia	
1. POLITIKA	31
2. START	14
3. DUGA	09
4. SPORT	09
5. NIN	05
6. POLITIKIN ZABAVNIK	05
Socialist Republic of Croatia	
1. None	19
2. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	19
3. START	14
4. VJESNIK	10
5. STUDIO	10
6. VECERNJI LIST	05
Socialist Republic of Slovenia	
1. DELO	23
2. Women's magazines	23
3. VECER	14
4. MLADINA	09

5. None	09
6. I do not know	05
Socialist Republic of Montenegro	
1. POLITIKA	27
2. POBJEDA	10
3. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	10
4. NIN	07
5. POKRET	07
6. TV REVIJA	07
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina	
1. POLITIKA	25
2. OSLOBODJENJE	11
3. VECERNJI LIST	07
4. NASI DANI	07
5. VJESNIK	04
6. VECERNJE NOVINE	04
3. Which newspaper do you respect the least?	
Socialist Republic of Macedonia	
1. Tabloids	35
2. Don't know	20
3. No such newspaper	15
4. Expensive, non-substantive newspapers	10
5. Women's magazines	05
6. Erotic magazines	05
Socialist Republic of Serbia	
1. No such newspaper	15
2. SABOR	11
3. DANAS	08
4. BORBA	08
5. POLITIKA	08
6. VJESNIK	08
Socialist Republic of Croatia	
1. Don't know	33
2. POLITIKA	13
3. AS	08
4. VJESNIK	08
5. PRAKTICNA ZENA	08
6. ORBIS	04
Socialist Republic of Slovenia	
1. Don't know	62
2. POLITIKA	10
3. POLITIKA EKSPRES	05
4. BORBA	05
5. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	05
6. PAVLIHA	05

Socialist Republic of Montenegro	
1. No such newspaper	20
2. DANAS	02[as published]
3. Don't know	10
4. Local newspapers	10
5. BORBA	05
6. POLITIKA	05
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina	
1. Don't know	65
2. Tabloids	20
3. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	05
4. Sports newspapers	05
5. FRONT SLOBODE	05
6. - - -	
4. Which newspaper do you read the most frequently?	
Socialist Republic of Macedonia	
1. NOVA MAKEDONIJA	33
2. POLITIKIN ZABAVNIK	17
3. POLITIKA	12
4. NIN	08
5. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	06
6. VECER	06
Socialist Republic of Serbia	
1. POLITIKA	30
2. DANAS	06
3. DNEVNIK	06
4. START	06
5. NIN	06
6. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	06
Socialist Republic of Croatia	
1. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	26
2. VECERNJI LIST	19
3. VJESNIK	15
4. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	12
5. START	07
6. SPORT	04
Socialist Republic of Slovenia	
1. DELO	24
2. REVIJA	20
3. LJUBLJANSKI DNEVNIK	10
4. VECER	10
5. ARENA	07
6. MLADINA	05
Socialist Republic of Montenegro	
1. POBJEDA	35

2. POLITIKA	18
3. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	10
4. NIN	07
5. UNU	04
6. ANU	04
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina	
1. OSLOBODJENJE	20
2. Women's magazines	17
3. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	11
4. VECERNJI LIST	09
5. POLITIKA	09
6. NASI DANI	06

Table 2. What kind of newspapers do you respect? (SFRY in percentages)

1. Realistic and objective	60
2. Truthful, non-stereotype newspapers	18
3. Substantive, Yugoslav oriented newspapers	12
4. Newspapers that deal with various topical issues	06
5. The present ones	04

Table 3. Do newspapers contribute toward spreading interrepublican quarrels? (SFRY in percentages)

1. Yes	67
2. No	18
3. Don't know	08
4. Perhaps	07

Table 4. Do you trust newspapers? (SFRY in percentages)

1. No	43
2. Partly	29
3. Yes	28